

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS
FORT WORTH DIVISION**

JOHN SABAL,

Plaintiff,

v.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE,

Defendant.

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CIVIL ACTION NO. 4:23-CV-01002-O

**APPENDIX TO DEFENDANT ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE'S MOTION TO
DISMISS PLAINTIFF'S COMPLAINT PURSUANT TO FEDERAL RULE OF CIVIL
PROCEDURE 12(B)(6)**

Description	Website URL	Date	Page
Eliza Relman, et al., <i>How the GOP learned to love QAnon</i> , Business Insider	https://www.businessinsider.com/how-qanon-infiltrated-the-gop-2020-10	October 16, 2020	001
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¹ Pursuant to Local Rule 7.1(i)(3), a copy of this videotape has been concurrently submitted on a flash drive to the Court, along with a copy served on counsel for Plaintiff John Sabal.

Charles Wade-Palmer, <i>Crazy claims Queen 'died months ago' and was replaced by a hologram in public</i> , Daily Star	https://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/weird-news/crazy-claims-queen-died-months-28011518	September 17, 2022	048
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Anders Anglesey, <i>Full List of Republican Politicians Attending QAnon Convention in Las Vegas</i> , Newsweek	https://www.newsweek.com/republicans-attending-qanon-convention-las-vegas-nevada-1641562	October 22, 2021	081
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Jerod Macdonald-Evoy, <i>GOP legislators spoke at a QAnon convention chock full of conspiracies and hate</i> , Arizona Mirror	https://www.azmirror.com/2021/10/28/gop-legislators-spoke-at-a-qanon-convention-chock-full-of-conspiracies-and-hate/	October 28, 2021	093
Tweet by @AZ_RWW	https://twitter.com/az_rww/status/1452335600774877202?s=20	October 24, 2021	097
ADL Backgrounder: QAnon	https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounder/qanon	Originally published May 4, 2020	098
ADL Glossary Entry: John Sabal	https://extremismterms.adl.org/glossary/john-sabal	Undated	115
Scott Richman, Regional Director, New York and New Jersey, Anti-Defamation League, Congressional Testimony: "Countering Violent Extremism, Terrorism, and Antisemitic Threats in New Jersey," House Committee on	https://www.congress.gov/117/meeting/house/115162/witnesses/HHRG-117-HM00-Wstate-RichmanS-20221003.pdf	October 3, 2022	116

Homeland Security			
<i>Hate in the Lone Star State: Extremism & Antisemitism in Texas</i> , A Report by the ADL Center on Extremism	https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/2023-09/Hate-in-the-Lone-Star-State-Report-092023.pdf	September 2023	142
Anti-Defamation League, <i>Blood Libel: A False, Incendiary Claim Against Jews</i>	https://www.adl.org/resources/backgroundunder/blood-libel-false-incendiary-claim-against-jews	September 1, 2016	165
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Dated: December 15, 2023

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CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that a true and correct copy of the above document has been served on all counsel of record, via the Court's CM/ECF system, in accordance with the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure, on this 15th day of December, 2023.

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VICE News

QAnon's Biggest Conference Is in Complete Shambles Right Now

After the organizer of the "For God & Country Patriot Double Down" called for a "military mutiny," the venue got cold feet.



By David Gilbert

September 1, 2021, 8:15am [Share](#) [Tweet](#) [Snap](#)



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QAnon John has had a difficult week. First he was kicked out of QAnon's biggest influencer group for calling on U.S. soldiers to take part in a "military mutiny," and on Tuesday the high-profile QAnon event he's organizing in Las Vegas next month was kicked out of its venue.

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The event, called "For God & Country Patriot Double Down," was scheduled to take place at the Caesars Forum convention space near the Las Vegas Strip over three days in October. But on Tuesday, the venue confirmed that it had cancelled the event.

"We can confirm that the Patriot Double Down will no longer be held at Caesars Entertainment properties," Caesars' spokeswoman Kate Whiteley told the Las Vegas Review-Journal.

Caesars did not give a reason for the cancellation and didn't respond to follow-up questions from VICE News. But the news of the cancellation likely came as a surprise to QAnon John, whose real name is John Sabal.

On a [podcast hosted by QAnon promoter Ron Watkins](#) earlier this week, Sabal said that organizing the event with the venue had been "smooth sailing." He added that the owner of Caesars Entertainment knew about the event and was "totally OK" with it. He even claimed a Caesars rep said the

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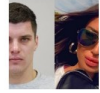
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company was “proud” of what Sabal’s organization was doing.

The event is supposed to be a follow-up to the “For God & County Patriot’s Roundup” conference that took place in Dallas at the end of May and attracted hundreds of attendees and some of the biggest stars in the QAnon firmament.

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Many of the same speakers are scheduled to appear in Las Vegas next month, including headline act Michael Flynn, the disgraced former national security adviser who used the first conference to call for a Myanmar-style military coup in the U.S.

Due to join Flynn on stage are a number of sitting Republican lawmakers, including what Sabal called a “trifecta” of representatives from Arizona who have been vocal supporters of the bogus recount taking place in the state.

Watkins is also scheduled to appear alongside his father Jim Watkins, who facilitated the rise of QAnon on his website 8chan (now called 8kun).

Sabal has not publicly responded to the cancellation by the venue but setbacks like this are something he has had to deal with in the past. Just weeks before the Dallas conference happened, one of the main venues pulled out following media scrutiny.

In the end, Sabal found a new venue but didn’t announce where it was until hours before the conference began, to prevent further media scrutiny and another possible cancellation.

On the Las Vegas event website, where tickets are being sold for between \$650 and \$3,000, the itinerary now says the conference will take place at a “location to be announced prior to event.”



It is unclear what prompted Caesars to pull the plug on the conference—it was first announced as the venue back in July—but it may have had something to do with Sabal's recent comments about a “military mutiny.”

“As a US Veteran, I have had ENOUGH, and I am officially calling for a TOTAL MILITARY MUTINY from the top ranks, and brass, all the way down to the EIs against this ROGUE ADMINISTRATION,” Sabal wrote on his Telegram channel last Thursday.

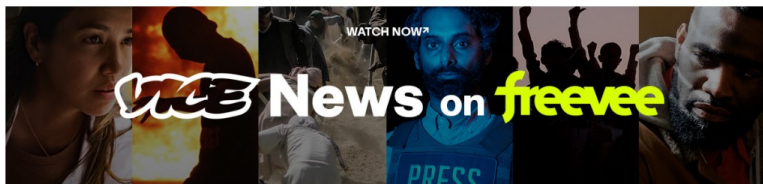
The comments were not well received by many of his followers and Sabal was soon removed as an admin in the “We The Media” channel, which is run by many of the highest profile QAnon influencers—a number of whom are scheduled to appear in Las Vegas.



“We apologize for the comments made by QAnonJohn regarding ANY type of rebellion or mutiny or coup, etc, against the current Biden administration,” the “We The Media” group said.

Just as Flynn tried to walk back his comments about a Myanmar-style coup in May, Sabal sought to diffuse the situation by claiming he never meant to advocate for any sort of violent rebellion, claiming he was talking specifically about a “peaceful” mutiny.

TAGGED: QANON JOHN, QANON CONFERENCE, LAS VEGAS, MICHAEL FLYNN, RON WATKINS, CAESARS, JIM WATKINS, DISINFO DISPATCH



Page 5
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GOP legislators spoke at a QAnon convention chock full of conspiracies and hate

BY: JEROD MACDONALD-EVOY - OCTOBER 28, 2021 9:23 AM



Republican legislators spoke at Patriot Double Down, a QAnon conference. L to R: Rep. Leo Biasiucci of Lake Havasu City, Rep. Mark Finchem of Oro Valley, Sen. Sonny Borrelli of Lake Havasu City and Sen. Wendy Rogers of Flagstaff.

Four Republican members of Arizona's state legislature attended a QAnon convention in Las Vegas over the weekend that included speakers from the fringe of the conspiracy world as well as antisemitic imagery.

One of the legislators, Rep. Leo Biasiucci of Lake Havasu City, bragged to the attendees of Patriot Double Down that he stood strong against people who tried to convince him not to attend a gathering so closely tied to a violent extremist belief system that calls for the death of political enemies. He recounted an exchange he had with an unnamed Arizona lobbyist whose client was concerned about being associated with Biasiucci.

"Have the CEO of that company give me a call directly and I'll explain to them why I'm going to this event," he said.

"And then I'll explain to them why nobody explains to me what I can or cannot do. 'Cause I don't bow down to anybody. No CEO, not the dictator in D.C. I bow down to God and I answer to you, my constituents," Biasiucci told the crowd, most of whom were not his constituents and had paid between [\\$650 to \\$3,000 to attend](#).

And while Biasiucci seemed to revel in being linked to QAnon – the bio he submitted for the event included a reference to a QAnon conspiracy about convicted sex trafficker Jeffrey Epstein – Sen. Wendy Rogers played dumb about the event’s overt links to the conspiracy. “What is a Q?” Rogers [tweeted before the gathering](#).

In its simplest form, [QAnon](#) is a conspiracy theory that alleges that a cabal of Satan-worshipping pedophiles are running a global sex-trafficking ring, control world governments and are trying to bring down President Donald Trump – who is himself single-handedly dismantling the cabal.

Each member can adopt their own beliefs and are encouraged to do their own “research,” and there are as a result a wide variety of QAnon beliefs. For example, some believe that the founder of QAnon, dubbed simply “Q,” [is actually JFK Jr.](#), while others believe [Q to be Trump himself](#). (JFK Jr. died in 1999 when the plane he was flying [crashed into the Atlantic Ocean](#).)

Borrelli: COVID is a ‘plandemic’

Biasiucci and Rogers spoke alongside Rep. Mark Finchem, who is running for secretary of state, and Sen. Sonny Borrelli on a panel discussing the Arizona Senate’s partisan “audit” of the 2020 election. That self-styled audit was [marred by controversy](#) and [conducted by conspiracy theorists](#) who had [no background in elections or knowledge of Arizona election law](#). It found [no evidence of the fraud](#) that the four GOP legislators and tens of millions of Republican voters nationwide say stole the election from Donald Trump.

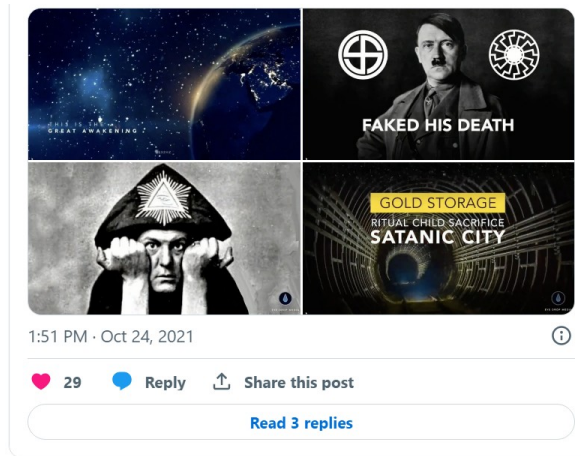
Instead, the “audit” [concluded that Joe Biden won Arizona](#).

The panel discussion opened up with a video by a company that makes QAnon memes and videos, many of which center on debunked conspiracies in them or antisemitic messaging. None of the legislators refuted any of the conspiratorial or antisemitic themes in the video.

Parts of that same video would later be shown during the opening of the second day of the convention.



Page 3
 GOP legislators spoke at a QAnon convention chock full of conspiracies and hate
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(One video found by the *Arizona Mirror* that was created by the company used by Patriot Double Down stated that the Titanic disaster was a hoax, Hitler faked his death and babies blood is being harvested as part of a popular [QAnon conspiracy about Hollywood elites](#). Another video also superimposed the Star of David among [images of the 9/11 attacks](#).)

Other than Biasiucci's opening remarks recounting his conversation with the lobbyist, the Arizona legislators avoided talking about QAnon directly, but alluded to parts of the wide-ranging conspiracy theory.

For instance, Borrelli called the COVID-19 pandemic, which has taken the lives of over 21,000 Arizonans and 984 in Mohave County, where he lives, a "plandemic" and used a stack of masks as a prop to demonstrate the many "masks" of Democrats that were "coming off."

"CRT, another distraction, another distortion," Borrelli said, referring to critical race theory while throwing a mask in the air. Borrelli also claimed that disgraced Gen. Michael Flynn – who [pleaded guilty to lying to FBI agents](#) about his contacts with Russian officials – had been "framed."

The lawmakers urged those in attendance to get involved in local politics, urging them to [become precinct committeemen](#) – the foot soldiers of political parties who primarily do things like registering voters, canvassing neighborhoods for their party's candidates and other grassroots activities.



Photo courtesy of Arizona Right Wing Watch

Finchem also spoke on a second panel of other QAnon-linked candidates who are running for secretary of state in their respective states.

The panel discussion mostly focused on similar debunked claims around the election, including ones around [California's recent recall election](#). Finchem also praised a Colorado county clerk who is [under federal investigation](#) after allowing unauthorized individuals access to voting equipment.

"Tina Peters, god bless her, y'all need to pray for that woman 'cause she is under fire," Finchem said about the Mesa County Clerk who has been branded a hero by QAnon conspiracy theorists.

Later, Finchem compared the murder of six million people in Holocaust to "cancel culture."

"You know what happened in the 1940s, right? Six million Jews were exterminated because they were dehumanized. (Kurt Tucholsky) said, 'A country is not just what it does, it's what it tolerates.' We have become far too tolerant of those who would try to 'cancel culture' us, of those who would tell us to sit down and shut up," he said. "And Aristotle, another notable, said tolerance is the last virtue left of a failing society."

One other Arizona politician was in attendance: [QAnon leader and congressional candidate Ron Watkins](#).

The event also featured a speech from actor Jim Caviezel, who [fully embraced QAnon](#) during a session that included a man whose fans claim he is JFK Jr.



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Reporter Jerod MacDonald-Evoy joined the Arizona Mirror from the Arizona Republic, where he spent 4 years covering everything from dark money in politics to Catholic priest sexual abuse scandals. He brings strong watchdog sensibilities and creative storytelling skills to the Arizona Mirror.

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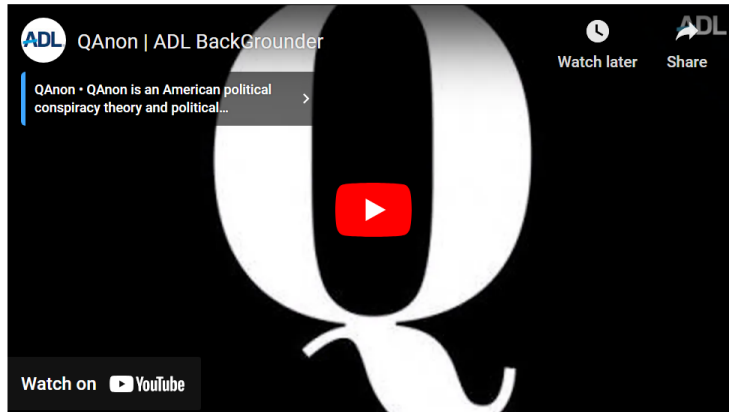
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Key Points:

- QAnon is a decentralized, far-right political movement rooted in a baseless conspiracy theory that the world is controlled by the “Deep State,” a cabal of Satan-worshipping pedophiles, and that former President Donald Trump is the only person who can defeat it.
- QAnon emerged on 4chan in 2017, when an anonymous poster known as “Q,” believed by Qanon followers to be a team of U.S. government and military insiders, began posting cryptic messages online about Trump’s alleged efforts to takedown the Deep State online.
- QAnon followers believe that the Deep State will be brought to justice during a violent day of reckoning known as “the Storm,” when the Deep State and its collaborators will be arrested and sent to Guantanamo Bay to face military tribunals and execution for their various crimes.
- Since the 2020 presidential election, QAnon has continued to migrate into the mainstream, becoming a powerful force within U.S. politics. Across the United States, QAnon adherents—animated by false claims that the 2020 election was “rigged” or “stolen”—are running for political office, signing up to become poll workers, filing frivolous election-related lawsuits and harassing election officials.

- While not all QAnon adherents are extremists, QAnon-linked beliefs have inspired violent acts and have eroded trust in democratic institutions and the electoral process.
- Many QAnon influencers also spout antisemitic beliefs and the core tenets of “Pizzagate” and “Save the Children,” both of which are QAnon-adjacent beliefs, play into antisemitic conspiracy theories like Blood Libel.

Video Backgrounder



What is QAnon?

QAnon is a decentralized, far-right political movement rooted in a baseless conspiracy theory that former President Donald Trump is waging a secret war against the “Deep State,” a cabal of Satan-worshipping pedophiles who control the world and run a global child sex trafficking ring, murdering children in ritual Satanic sacrifices in order to harvest a supposedly life-extending chemical from their blood known as adrenochrome. QAnon theories, which are popular among far-right extremists and some Trump supporters, are an amalgam of novel and well-established conspiracy theories, with marked undertones of antisemitism, anti-LGBTQ+ hate, and anti-immigrant bias.

According to QAnon lore, nearly every recent president has been a puppet put in place by the so-called Deep State, but Donald Trump was recruited by top military generals to run for president in 2016. Trump’s mission: to expose and take down the Deep State, which will take place during “the Storm,” a violent day of reckoning in which Deep State actors and their collaborators will be arrested en masse and sent to Guantanamo Bay, where they will face military tribunals and be executed for their various supposed crimes against humanity.

In the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic and 2020 presidential election, QAnon has bolstered anti-vaccine skepticism and false claims that the 2020 election was “stolen” from Trump. QAnon followers played a significant role in efforts to overturn and discredit the results of the 2020 election, including the January 6, 2021 Capitol insurrection.

What followers believe

QAnon consists of a number of deeply convoluted conspiracy theories and elevates theories ranging from Satanic blood rituals to the faked death of John F. Kennedy Jr., all tenuously centered around the belief that the world is controlled by a global cabal of Satan-worshipping pedophiles. This kitchen sink approach is a major reason why QAnon has gained such a substantial following in its relatively short life; since its 2017 inception, the movement has become a “big tent” conspiracy capable of accommodating and encompassing all sorts of theories and global events.

It’s not all doom and gloom: QAnon followers also believe there are good forces at play, men and women working within the government to thwart the Deep State. QAnon followers refer to these people as “white hats.”

According to “Q,” the mysterious insider who is “leaking” information to their followers about the plan to takedown the Deep State, the white hats stopped Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton from stealing the 2016 election. As the theory goes, the Democratic elites needed to win the presidency in order to pay back funds that the Clinton Foundation stole from other nations under the guise of 2010 emergency earthquake aid to Haiti. Rather than help Haitians in dire straits, Q claimed that the Clintons supposedly used the money to fund a massive child sex trafficking operation from the disaster-stricken nation.

The white hats identified the only person they consider honest and moral enough to resist the evils of the Deep State: Donald Trump, who they recruited to run for president in 2016.

Ever since Trump’s election, Q, Trump and the white hats have been embroiled in what QAnon adherents view as an epic battle with the Deep State. QAnon followers believe a team of military and government insiders, posting under the “Q” identity, is leaking information to the public in order to enlighten them to “the Plan” and quell any civil unrest that may occur when “the Storm” begins. QAnon adherents call this process “the Great Awakening.”

“The Storm”

The successful completion of the Plan hinges on hundreds of thousands of alleged sealed indictments, supposedly being compiled by the Department of Justice against the prominent Democrats, Hollywood celebrities, business leaders and other elites who make up the cabal. These indictments are set to be unsealed during a violent day of reckoning known as “the Storm,” when the cabal and its collaborators will promptly be arrested and sent to Guantanamo Bay, where they will face military tribunals and possible execution for their crimes. The Storm takes its name from a comment then-President Trump made during a photo op held before a White House military dinner on October 5, 2017, in which he remarked that the dinner was “maybe the calm before the storm.” When a reporter asked, “What storm, Mr. President?” Trump responded, “You’ll find out.”

Q has repeatedly suggested that the “storm” was imminent, even going so far as to claim that certain members of the cabal, such as Hillary Clinton and John Podesta, would be arrested on certain dates. While those dates have all come

and gone with no arrests, QAnon adherents have remained steadfast in their support for Q, who has explained away these failed predictions by claiming that the arrests had to be delayed for various reasons and that “disinformation is necessary” to throw the Deep State off the white hats’ plan.

As the QAnon movement grew and migrated to more mainstream social media platforms, it developed numerous subplots, such as the far-fetched conspiracy theory that John F. Kennedy Jr. is still alive and will become Trump’s new vice president, that various politicians and celebrities (such as Michelle Obama) are transgender, that you can order trafficked children online from Wayfair and that tweets from various celebrities and politicians about the deaths of their dogs are secret messages about members of the Deep State being arrested or executed (i.e., “dog code”).

Amidst the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic, the QAnon and anti-vaccine communities have become increasingly intertwined. In the early days of the pandemic, QAnon adherents latched onto theories that the Covid-19 virus was a bioweapon, created by the Deep State to help sway the results of the 2020 election and usher in a “great reset.” QAnon followers have also promoted numerous false claims and disinformation about Covid-19 vaccines, claiming that the vaccines are being used to implant microchips to track people, that the vaccines can alter people’s DNA and that the vaccines are being used to sterilize and kill off parts of the population. Russia’s invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 has ushered in additional theories about the Covid-19 virus’ origins, with some QAnon adherents claiming that the virus is a bioweapon created in U.S.-funded bioweapons labs in Ukraine.

Election conspiracies

The QAnon movement has continued to evolve following Trump’s defeat in the 2020 presidential election, incorporating new conspiracy theories and other forms of extremism. QAnon adherents have repeatedly promoted false claims that the 2020 election was “rigged” to rationalize their belief that President Joe Biden is a “fake” president and will soon be removed from office, with some even going so far as to claim that former President Trump is still in control. Devolution, an outlandish conspiracy theory created by QAnon influencer Patel Patriot (Jon Herold), posits that Trump, aware that the Deep State was planning to “steal” the 2020 election, “devolved” the U.S. government via an Executive Order right before he left office and is still secretly president, working with the military behind the scenes to expose China and the Deep State for teaming up to steal the election. QAnon supporters have also repeatedly claimed that Trump will eventually be reinstated as president. One of the earliest forms of this reinstatement theory settled on the date of March 4, 2021, promoting a sovereign citizen-linked theory that former President Trump would return to power on that date, succeeding former President Ulysses S. Grant as the 19th president. Although nothing happened on March 4, some QAnon adherents have continued to promote the belief that Trump will soon be “reinstated” as president.

It is important to note that several aspects of QAnon lore mirror longstanding antisemitic tropes, and multiple QAnon influencers, such as GhostEzra (Robert

Smart), IET (Craig Longley), Negative48 (Michael Protzman) and QAnon John (John Sabal), have been known to peddle antisemitic beliefs. The belief that a global “cabal” is involved in rituals of child sacrifice has roots in the antisemitic trope of blood libel, the false theory that Jews murder Christian children for ritualistic purposes. In addition, QAnon has a deep-seated hatred for financier and philanthropist George Soros, a name that has become synonymous with perceived Jewish meddling in global affairs. And QAnon’s ongoing obsession with a global elite of bankers also has deeply antisemitic undertones.

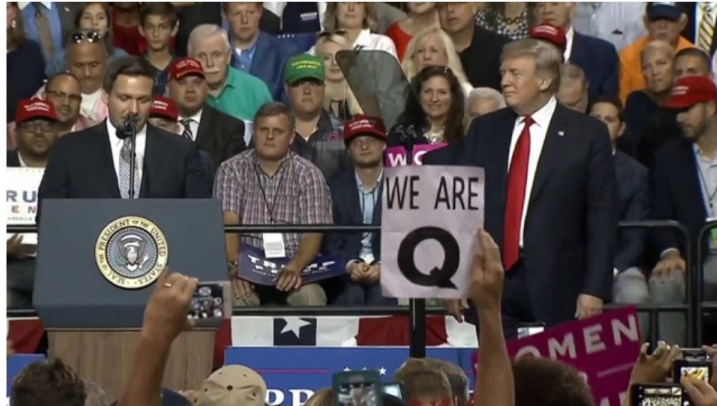
Origins and spread

On October 28, 2017, a post cropped up on 4chan’s profoundly racist, sexist and xenophobic /pol/ (politically incorrect) board. Sandwiched between racist commentary and a post speculating about a non-existent Hillary Clinton sex tape, the post offered a stark news flash: “HRC extradition already in motion effective yesterday with several countries in case of cross border run... Expect massive riots organized in defiance and others fleeing the US to occur.” Over the next few days, the user (who first introduced the moniker “Q Clearance Patriot” on November 1, 2017 and began signing their posts as “Q” the following day, November 2, 2017) made a series of cryptic predictions referencing the Mueller probe, the Clintons, George Soros and Barack Obama, hinting at a vast conspiracy within the U.S. government. “Priority to clean out the bad actors to unite people behind the America First agenda. Many in our govt worship Satan,” an October 29, 2017, post warned.

Anonymous ID: BQ7V3bcW Sat 28 Oct 2017 16:44:28 No.147012719 Report
 Quoted By: >>147017117 >>147017275 >>147036772 >>147039926,1 >>147039926,22 >>147039926,3 >>147039926,4 >>147039926,40
 >>147039926,48 >>147039926,7
 >>147005381
 HRC extradition already in motion effective yesterday with several countries in case of cross border run. Passport approved to be flagged effective 10/30 @ 12:01am. Expect massive riots organized in defiance and others fleeing the US to occur. US M's will conduct the operation while NG activated. Proof check: Locate a NG member and ask if activated for duty 10/30 across most major cities.

Q’s first post, made on October 28, 2017, claimed that Hillary Clinton was about to be arrested, an event that would spark mass civil unrest. Source: 4plebs

Initially lost in the cacophony of 4chan, Q’s posts were brought to the attention of Pizzagate adherent Tracy “Beanz” Diaz, who shared them with her sizable audience. Within weeks, discussion boards dedicated to Q popped up on Reddit, widening the audience for the fledgling conspiracy theory. Not only was Reddit significantly more user-friendly than the bewildering boards on 4chan, it already had a thriving community of conspiracy theorists who were more than happy to take the QAnon ball and run with it. From there, the theory spread to even more mainstream platforms like Facebook, YouTube and Twitter, where users, real and fake, shared and amplified the increasingly serpentine theory. As the theory became more widespread, QAnon slogans and symbols became a common sight at Trump rallies, where adherents parsed every word and gesture from the President, looking for hints about the Plan or Q. Even Trump joined the fray, repeatedly retweeting noted QAnon influencers and slogans.



A QAnon adherent holds up a "We Are Q" sign at a Trump rally in Tampa, Florida on July 31, 2018, the first Trump rally in which QAnon followers were visibly present. Source: NBC News

While Q started out posting on 4chan, they did not stay there for long. In late November 2017, Q moved to 8chan, another imageboard site, citing concerns that 4chan had been "infiltrated." Q continued to post on 8chan until the site was shut down in August 2019 following a mass shooting in El Paso, Texas. Q began posting again in November 2019, when 8chan returned to the web as 8kun.

QAnon's popularity skyrocketed in 2020 amidst the Covid-19 pandemic, emerging as a central hub for anti-lockdown activists, anti-vaxx conspiracy theorists and alternative health and wellness communities. Shared suspicions of government mandated Covid restrictions and Covid treatments made QAnon and these communities natural bedfellows. Those shared suspicions, combined with general anxiety about the pandemic and increased time spent indoors and online, enabled QAnon to draw in and radicalize individuals around the globe. An analysis conducted by the Institute for Strategic Dialogue, a London-based think tank, found that QAnon-related posts exploded on mainstream social media platforms between March and June 2020—nearly 175 percent on Facebook, 77.1 percent on Instagram and 63.7 percent on Twitter. Q drop aggregator sites and social media made it easy for people to learn about and discuss Q's posts without ever having to wade through the cesspool of racist and antisemitic content on 8kun to find them.

One of the reasons QAnon has been able to gain so much popularity in its relatively short lifespan—in comparison to other conspiracy theories—is because it actively encourages followers to become part of the story; it empowers followers to uncover the hidden truths of the world themselves and to educate others on what they've learned. In many posts, Q encourages their audience to put the pieces together themselves, to "do your own research" so to speak, thereby allowing QAnon adherents to fill in the numerous blanks with their own musings and paranoias.

The participatory nature of QAnon also benefits the platforms on which it spreads because content that encourages user engagement is favored by social media algorithms, drawing more people to the site. The more QAnon content is amplified, the more followers and "researchers" engage with it, resulting in high

levels of user activity and an increased likelihood that it will be suggested to more people who use their platform. For example, an experiment at Facebook in 2019 illustrated how its algorithm recommended QAnon groups to a fictitious user called Carol Smith, despite the user expressing no overt interest in conspiracy theories.

Followers who analyze Q's posts, known as "breadcrumbs" or "Q drops," call themselves "autists" (This is a reference to what chan board users call "weaponized autism," complementing the ability of QAnon followers to find and make connections between Q's posts and random topics and events, and does not necessarily imply that the users are autistic) or "bakers." They decode the "crumbs" to make "bread," threads that weave together Q's posts to create a better understanding of the clues and information they reveal. "Baking" creates the illusion that Q is bestowing valuable information. Several Q bakers, such as Jordan Sather, intheMatrixxx (Jeff Petersen) and RedPill78 (Zak Paine), have amassed thousands of followers online, becoming influencers who continue to shape and lead the QAnon movement today.

Evolution following 2020 election

Q made a total of 4,953 posts between October 28, 2017, and December 8, 2020, disappearing shortly after Trump's defeat in the 2020 presidential election, which Q had assured followers Trump would win. Q re-emerged after more than 18 months of silence on June 24, 2022—the evening Roe v. Wade was overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court in the Dobbs case—making a handful of posts before disappearing again.

Despite Q's long absence, deplatformings from major social media sites following the January 6, 2021 Capitol insurrection and disappointment over Trump's defeat in the 2020 election, QAnon has continued to thrive.

In the wake of the January 6 insurrection, mainstream social media platforms cracked down on QAnon, purging almost every significant QAnon influencer along with thousands of rank-and-file followers. While this should have been a crippling blow to the community, many of QAnon's top influencers had already banned together to create a single Telegram channel to promote their content. Knowing that the bans were coming, they were able to direct their followers to this channel, and the QAnon movement migrated from Twitter and other mainstream platforms to Telegram, where it remains active today.

This movement to alternative (and mostly unmoderated) platforms, along with Q's absence, has given rise to new influencers in the QAnon community and has created an opportunity for QAnon to merge with other, more extreme movements and ideologies.

GhostEzra (identified by Logically.ai as a Florida man named Robert Smart), who first emerged on Twitter in December 2020, is one of the largest QAnon influencers on Telegram; he is openly antisemitic and pro-Hitler, repeatedly sharing Christian Identity material claiming that modern Jews are "fake" and that white Europeans were the true Israelites. In 2022, GhostEzra began to openly

question Q and Trump, possibly weaning his followers away from QAnon and push them towards more extreme, antisemitic content.

Michael Protzman, an antisemitic QAnon influencer known as “Negative48,” gained national attention in November 2021 when he and hundreds of his followers gathered in Dallas’ Dealey Plaza to await the return of JFK, JFK Jr. and Jackie Kennedy, who Protzman claims faked their deaths and predicted would reappear in Dallas to reappoint Trump as President. Over the course of 2022, Protzman and a small group of followers (who call themselves “Protzmanians”) have criss-crossed the country to attend Trump rallies; some journalists have described the group as a cult.



Michael Protzman, center, and his followers held a candlelight vigil for JFK in Dealey Plaza on November 22, 2021, marking the 58th anniversary of JFK’s assassination. Source: Telegram

Other QAnon influencers, such as Ann Vandersteel, have openly embraced the beliefs and tactics of the anti-government sovereign citizen movement. Sovereign citizen gurus Bobby Lawrence and David Straight, who teach sovereignty with a QAnon bent, have held dozens of “American State National” seminars across the United States in 2021 and 2022, teaching QAnon adherents about the importance of becoming an “American State National” in preparation for when Trump is

reinstated as president and “restores” the U.S. as a “constitutional Republic.”
 (Note: American State National is a term used by sovereign citizens and some QAnon adherents to refer to themselves, reflecting their belief that they are not citizens of what they perceive is an illegitimate, tyrannical federal government.)

Following the launch of Trump’s Truth Social platform in February 2022, many QAnon adherents migrated to the site, although Telegram remains the platform of choice for many Q followers. The appearance of a “q” account on the platform energized many in the QAnon community, with some speculating that the account, which regularly interacts with former Trump administration official Kash Patel and Truth Social CEO Devin Nunes, is being operated by the original Q poster. While the “q” account has announced it is a fake (it’s most likely a troll account created by the platform’s developers), the account’s posts are being archived in online Q drop aggregators and decoded by some QAnon adherents. Some researchers and journalists have speculated that the Q poster may have re-emerged on 8kun in June 2022 because they felt threatened by the imitator account on Truth Social.

Connection to mainstream U.S. politics

Despite a profound lack of any supporting evidence for Q’s outlandish predictions and claims, QAnon has successfully made the leap from the paranoid catacombs of online subculture into America’s mainstream conservative movement, attracting a large contingent of Trump supporters and even national politicians.

Former President Donald Trump is partly to blame for QAnon’s ability to gain traction among his supporters and the Republican Party. For years, Trump has hinted at support for the movement, refusing to condemn QAnon during media appearances and boosting QAnon accounts on Twitter over 315 times during his presidency. QAnon followers view Trump’s boosting of QAnon content as an endorsement of their beliefs, a sly acknowledgement to them that he and Q are working together to takedown the Deep State.

Since the launch of his Truth Social platform in spring 2022, Trump has shared over 130 posts from QAnon accounts, such as posts featuring an image of himself wearing a Q lapel pin and others that feature popular QAnon slogans such as “WWG1WGA” (short for “where we go one, we go all”) and “NCSWIC” (short for “nothing can stop what is coming”). Recent Trump rallies have featured a video, which Trump has also posted on Truth Social himself, that features a song QAnon followers believe is called “WWG1WGA.” Trump’s increasingly explicit endorsements of QAnon are a dangerous development, lending credence to a movement that had been responsible for numerous acts of violence and renewing QAnon adherents’ hope that “the Storm” is on the horizon.



A collection of QAnon posts shared by former President Trump on Truth Social in September 2022.

2020 Election and the January 6 insurrection

QAnon has fully embraced false claims that the 2020 election was “stolen” from former President Trump, merging it with theories about Trump’s battle with the Deep State. Some QAnon followers believe that the election was “rigged” by the Deep State; others believe that Trump’s loss is all part of the plan and that he is still pulling the levers of the U.S. government behind the scenes. QAnon influencers have used election denialism to attract new audiences, enabling them to increasingly intermingle with mainstream Trump supporters and members of the Republican Party.

QAnon followers have played a significant role in efforts to overturn and discredit the results of the 2020 presidential election, promoting false theories that Dominion voting machines switched millions of votes for Trump to Biden and that the 2020 election was rigged using satellites controlled by the U.S. Embassy in Rome with the help of the Vatican. Sidney Powell and Lin Wood, two pro-Trump lawyers who filed numerous lawsuits attempting to overturn the 2020 election, have repeatedly associated with the QAnon community; Wood himself has also openly endorsed Q on numerous occasions. (Powell is being sued for defamation as a result of her claims that the voting machine company rigged the 2020 election, in a \$.3 billion federal lawsuit brought by Dominion Voting Systems, Inc. Last month a federal judge in Washington D.C. threw out Powell’s counterclaims.)

QAnon followers also played a significant role in the January 6, 2021, Capitol insurrection. Out of the more than 900 people arrested for participating in the insurrection, at least 66 are known to be QAnon adherents, based on data compiled by ADL as of September 2022. Jacob Chansley, the so-called “QAnon Shaman,” attracted global media attention for the shaman-inspired attire he was wearing as he stormed the Capitol; he was sentenced to 41 months in prison in November 2021 for his role in the insurrection. Ashli Babbitt, who was shot and killed by a Capitol police officer as she tried to climb through a shattered window into the Speaker’s Lobby, was also a QAnon supporter. Another attendee Roseanne Boyland, who also had a history of interest in QAnon, died following the insurrection allegedly due to being trampled. Dozens of other rioters were seen wearing QAnon clothing or carrying QAnon-themed flags and signs as they stormed the Capitol building.



Doug Jensen, center, was one of dozens of QAnon adherents arrested for breaching the U.S. Capitol building during the January 6, 2021, insurrection. Source: Manuel Balce Ceneta/AP

Involvement in U.S. elections

While QAnon followers continue to rally around efforts to overturn the 2020 election results, they are also looking ahead to the 2022 midterm and 2024 presidential elections, fearful that those elections—like 2020—will also be “rigged.” Across the United States, QAnon adherents—animated by false claims of election fraud—are signing up to become poll workers and watchers, volunteering to be precinct committee members and surveilling ballot drop boxes. For example, ahead of Arizona’s 2022 primary election, a group of individuals, including at least one QAnon adherent, held a drop box “tailgate” party in order to keep an eye out for suspected “mules” (a term used to refer to ballot harvesters). On Telegram, Truth Social and greatawakening.win, a popular QAnon forum, dozens of QAnon adherents have posted about signing up to become poll workers for the 2022 election cycle. Such activities raise serious concerns about QAnon adherents interfering with upcoming U.S. elections, by tampering with election equipment or trying to prevent voters from legally casting their ballots.

In addition to these local, grassroots efforts, some QAnon adherents have also run for political office. The ADL Center on Extremism (COE) has identified more than 80 candidates running for federal, state and local office in 2022 who have openly expressed support for QAnon or have regularly affiliated with known QAnon adherents. The America First Secretary of State Coalition, co-founded by Washington state-based QAnon influencer Juan O’ Savin, seeks to elect far-right candidates to Secretary of State positions in key swing states in order to gain control over the administration of the 2024 presidential election. If elected, these candidates could play a key role in determining how electoral votes from their states will be allotted in 2024, which could spark a constitutional crisis.

While some of these QAnon-linked candidates have already been defeated or dropped out, and it is unknown how many of those remaining will win the November 2022 midterm election, the pervasiveness of the theory is striking. Likewise, the ability of some QAnon-linked candidates to advance to the general election—combined with elected officials and other candidates openly pandering to the community—indicates that the once-fringe beliefs held by QAnon followers have become acceptable among mainstream conservatives and the Republican Party.

Since the 2020 presidential election, elected officials and political candidates across the United States have repeatedly associated with the QAnon community, speaking at QAnon-linked conferences and appearing on QAnon podcasts. In October 2021, several elected officials and candidates spoke at the Patriot Double Down conference hosted in Las Vegas, Nevada by antisemitic QAnon influencer John Sabal (QAnon John). The Reawaken America tour, a series of controversial far-right conferences hosted by far-right conspiracy theorist Clay Clark and former national security adviser Michael Flynn, routinely bring together QAnon influencers, election fraud conspiracy theorists, anti-vaccine activists, religious figures and elected officials and political candidates. These events allow QAnon adherents to intermingle with elected officials and candidates, enabling them to share their fringe beliefs with a more mainstream audience.

Who is Q?

Nobody knows who is behind the “Q” identity, although rumors abound. From the very first posts in late 2017, Q’s identity has eluded the hordes of self-proclaimed Q researchers who obsessively pore over every detail of every post. Because of the anonymous nature of the imageboards where Q posts, the real identity of the poster is almost impossible to ascertain.

QAnon believers claim Q is a team of less than 10 individuals within the top echelons of the U.S. military and government with access to classified information, who have chosen this moment to reveal the nefarious conspiracy outlined in the Plan. Q is a reference to “Q clearance,” a top-secret clearance level within the U.S. Department of Energy. There is no evidence to suggest that the individual(s) behind the Q posts is a government employee or has access to classified information. Q’s “information” is so cryptic and vague that the author could be anyone.

Some QAnon followers believe the Q poster could be someone close to former President Trump, such as Dan Scavino, Michael Flynn or Steve Bannon, or even Trump himself. A smaller faction believe that Q is a man named Austin Steinbart, who claims to be posting as Q from the future using quantum technology.

While Q posts anonymously, they use a “tripcode” (a unique digital signature created by scrambling an imageboard user’s password) that allows their followers to distinguish their posts from those of other users and imposters. Tripcodes are notoriously easy to crack, however, and Q’s tripcode has been compromised several times. When Q returned on 8kun in November 2019, they posted photos of a pen and notebook that had been shared in earlier posts on

8chan to confirm that they were the original “Q.”

Ron and Jim Watkins

Independent researchers and journalists have long speculated that former 8kun administrator Ron Watkins, and his father, Jim Watkins, who owns the site, are behind the Q posts. In the final episode of Q: Into the Storm, a 2021 HBO documentary series produced by Cullen Hoback, Ron Watkins stated on camera that he had spent “almost ten years, every day, doing this kind of research anonymously. Now I’m doing it publicly, that’s the only difference... It was basically what I was doing anonymously before but never as Q.” Watkins quickly corrected himself, saying “Never as Q. I promise. Because I am not Q, and I never was.” Hoback, along with other journalists and researchers, have viewed this slip by Watkins as an admission that he is “Q.”

In February 2022, The New York Times reported that an analysis of the Q posts by two independent forensic linguistic teams indicated that Paul Furber, a /pol/ moderator and one of Q’s earliest promoters, authored the initial Q posts, with Ron Watkins taking over in 2018. Both men have repeatedly denied being Q.

Following Q’s return in June 2022, Fred Brennan, who founded 8chan, and researchers associated with the Q Origins Project pointed out that Q’s new drops were posted under the same tripcode Q used before they disappeared in 2020, an impossible scenario considering 8kun had rotated its “salt,” a cryptographic mechanism that converts a user’s password into a tripcode, shortly before the new Q drops appeared. This has led some researchers and journalists—and even some 8kun users—to conclude the new posts were made by Jim Watkins, an allegation he has frequently denied.

Global impact

Despite its U.S.-centric lore, QAnon has amassed followers across the globe, thanks in large part to anxieties over the Covid-19 pandemic and opposition to Covid-related restrictions. QAnon was able to find a home among individuals who opposed such measures, and later Covid-19 vaccines, because of its promise that the Deep State—who QAnon believes is behind the pandemic—would soon be defeated. Data compiled by QAnon researcher Marc-André Argentino in August 2020 showed that QAnon-dedicated Facebook pages existed in at least 71 countries worldwide.

Canada

In Canada, Romana Didulo, a QAnon adherent who falsely claims to be the “Queen of Canada,” has amassed thousands of followers, raising tens of thousands of dollars in donations so that she and her entourage can travel across the Canadian provinces to hold meet-and-greets with her adoring fans.

Didulo has repeatedly called for the arrests and executions of anyone involved in enforcing Canada’s Covid-19 mandates and providing vaccinations. In November 2021, she was briefly detained by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and subjected to a psychiatric evaluation after she issued a call for her followers to

"shoot to kill" healthcare workers vaccinating children against Covid-19.

Didulo's followers have also been known to send "cease and desist" letters to various organizations and individuals across the globe, demanding they stop engaging in "crimes against humanity." Some have even been arrested for threatening schools and businesses.

On August 13, 2022, Didulo and around 30 of her supporters gathered in Peterborough, Ontario, where they attempted to carry out "citizen arrests" on members of the Peterborough Police Service for enforcing Covid-19 mandates. The event turned violent, and several of Didulo's supporters were arrested by police on charges ranging from assault to resisting arrest.



Romana Didulo, center, speaks to her followers and participants in the Trucker's Convoy as they protest Canada's Covid-19 vaccine mandates on Ottawa's Parliament Hill on February 3, 2022. Source: Patrick Doyle/Reuters

Japan

QAnon also has a sizable following in Japan, fueled in large part by anti-vaccine sentiments. Japanese QAnon groups have repeatedly held protests against Covid-19 vaccines, even questioning the existence of the virus itself.

In April 2022, Tokyo police arrested several members of the Japanese QAnon group YamatoQ for allegedly barging into a health clinic offering Covid-19 vaccines to children.

Europe

QAnon has also gained a foothold among anti-vaccine activists and Covid-19 conspiracy theorists in Europe. In the United Kingdom, QAnon slogans have become a frequent sight at anti-vaccine and "Save the Children" protests.

In Germany, members of the anti-government Reichsbürger movement, which bears resemblance to the sovereign citizen movement in the U.S., have adopted QAnon-linked theories to promote the belief that modern-day Germany is an illegitimate state, expressing hope that Trump will help to restore the Reich.

Criminal Activity

Although QAnon followers are primarily active online, in several cases the conspiracy theory has spilled into the real world with violent consequences. A May 2019 FBI intelligence bulletin, written by the bureau's Phoenix field office and first reported on by [Yahoo News](#), identified QAnon as a potential terror threat. "The FBI assesses these conspiracy theories very likely will emerge, spread, and evolve in the modern information marketplace, occasionally driving both groups and individual extremists to carry out criminal or violent acts," the bulletin warned, citing several incidents in which QAnon adherents and other conspiracy theorists had engaged in criminal and violent acts.

While most QAnon believers are not violent and limit their involvement to furthering the conspiracy online, dozens of QAnon adherents in the United States and globally have been linked to acts of [murder](#), [violence](#), [kidnapping](#) and public disturbance. QAnon has been linked to at least seven murders since 2017, according to data compiled by [START](#).

- September 11, 2022, Walled Lake, Michigan: Igor Lanis [allegedly](#) shot and killed his wife and injured one of his daughters at their family home; he then allegedly opened fire on police as they arrived on scene. Officers returned fire, killing him. Following the shooting, Lanis' eldest daughter, who was not home at the time of the incident, claimed in a [post](#) on the r/QAnonCasualties subreddit that her father had become obsessed with QAnon and other conspiracy theories following the 2020 election.
- August 6, 2022, Stillwater, Oklahoma: Samantha Ricks, a QAnon adherent and [former follower](#) of QAnon influencer Michael Protzman (Negative48), [allegedly](#) attempted to kidnap her two children from their foster home in Oklahoma. According to [local news reports](#), Ricks and a man named Elijah Erlebach, who appears to subscribe to the sovereign citizen conspiracy theory, pulled up outside the foster home and grabbed her daughter as she was riding her bike outside. They planned to circle back and grab her son, but they were chased by the children's foster father. Police quickly arrived on scene and arrested them both. Ricks and Erlebach are both facing child stealing and firearm-related charges.
- August 9, 2021, Rosarito, Mexico: Matthew Taylor Coleman [allegedly](#) killed his 2-year-old son and 10-month-old daughter after taking them from their home in Santa Barbara, California and driving them to Rosarito, Mexico. According to court documents, Coleman told federal agents that he had become "enlightened" by conspiracy theories related to QAnon and that he believed his wife possessed "serpent DNA," claiming he killed his two children to prevent them from becoming "monsters." He was indicted by a grand jury on two counts of foreign first-degree murder of United States nationals in September 2021.
- March 15, 2021, Pewaukee, Wisconsin: Ian Alan Olson was arrested after he attempted to attack a group of U.S. Army reservists. Olson drove his vehicle, which was covered in QAnon slogans and symbols, to the U.S. Army Reserve station in Pewaukee. While shouting "this is for America," Olson got out of his vehicle and attempted to fire a paintball gun at two soldiers, but the gun jammed, and he was quickly tackled by the reservists and placed under arrest.

Olson pled guilty to a count of attacking United States Servicemen on account of their status as servicemen and was sentenced to 14 months in prison in November 2021.

- November 15, 2020, Ocala, Florida: Neely Petrie-Blanchard of Kentucky was arrested for the murder of Christopher Hallett, an Ocala, Florida-based sovereign citizen who offered bogus court services through a company called "E-Clause." According to court records, Petrie-Blanchard had become convinced Hallett was involved in a conspiracy to deny her custody of her children. Both Petrie-Blanchard and Hallett had embraced QAnon conspiracy theories, according to media reports. Blanchard is also facing separate charges in Kentucky for allegedly abducting her twin daughters from their grandmother's home in March 2020.
- December 30, 2019, Kalispell, Montana: Cynthia Abcug was arrested and charged with conspiracy to commit kidnapping after her teenage daughter told a case worker that her mother had gotten into QAnon and was plotting with a QAnon follower to abduct her son. Abcug had posted on social media that she believed social workers were trafficking children, and police found QAnon paraphernalia in her home. Abcug was found guilty of conspiracy to commit second-degree kidnapping in August 2022.
- March 13, 2019, Staten Island, New York: Anthony Comello allegedly shot and killed Gambino family crime boss Francesco Cali outside his home in Staten Island. In court, Comello displayed many references to QAnon. According to statements made to his attorney at the time of his arrest, Comello believed that Cali was part of the "Deep State" working to unseat President Trump. In court filings, Comello's attorney has argued that "Mr. Comello's support for QAnon went beyond mere participation in a radical political organization, it evolved into a delusional obsession." Comello was found mentally unfit to stand trial in June 2020.
- June 15, 2018, Hoover Dam, Nevada: QAnon follower Matthew Wright drove an armored vehicle onto a bridge spanning the Hoover Dam, leading to a standoff with police. During the standoff, Wright demanded that the government release an OIG report, which QAnon followers believed would expose the "Deep State." Wright was armed and had more 900 rounds of ammunition in his vehicle when he was arrested. In December 2020, Wright pled guilty to making a terroristic threat and fleeing law enforcement; he was sentenced to nearly eight years in prison.

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John Sabal

John Sabal, also known as "QAnon John," is a QAnon influencer who runs The Patriot Voice website, which he uses to advertise QAnon-related conferences. These conferences, the first of which was held in May 2021, have showcased the mainstreaming of QAnon and other conspiracy theories.

PEOPLE, RIGHT-WING



This database provides an overview of many of the terms and individuals used by or associated with movements and groups that subscribe to and/or promote extremist or hateful ideologies.

Other terms tagged with Right-wing

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Congressional Testimony

“Countering Violent Extremism, Terrorism, and Antisemitic Threats in New Jersey”

Scott Richman

Regional Director, New York and New Jersey

ADL (Anti-Defamation League)

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY

Teaneck Municipal Building and via Cisco WebEx

October 3, 2022

10:00 a.m.



*Working to stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure
Justice and fair treatment to all since 1913*

INTRODUCTION TO ADL

Since 1913, the mission of ADL (the Anti-Defamation League) has been to “stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment to all.” For decades, one of the most important ways in which ADL has fought against bigotry and antisemitism has been by investigating extremist threats across the ideological spectrum, including from white supremacists and other far-right violent extremists, producing research to inform the public of the scope of the threat, and working with law enforcement, educators, the tech industry and elected leaders to promote best practices that can effectively address and counter these threats.

Domestic violent extremism has been on the rise in recent years. The Jewish community continues to be a primary target of extremists, regardless of ideology.

Without a doubt, right-wing extremist violence is currently the greatest domestic terrorism threat to everyone in this country. From Charleston to Charlottesville to Pittsburgh, to Poway and El Paso and Buffalo, we have seen the deadly consequences of white supremacist extremism play out all over this country. Moreover, at ADL we are tracking the mainstreaming, normalizing, and *localizing* of the hate, disinformation and toxic conspiracy theories that animate this extremism. We cannot afford to minimize this threat. We need a bipartisan “whole of government approach” — indeed, a “whole of society” approach — to counter it, and the work must start today.

CURRENT TRENDS

Antisemitic Violence

Antisemitism is an ongoing threat to the American Jewish community, other marginalized groups, and our democracy itself. According to the FBI’s annual data on hate crimes, defined as criminal offenses which are motivated by bias, crimes targeting the Jewish community consistently constitute over half of all religion-based crimes. The number of hate crimes against Jews has ranged between 600 and 1,200 each year since the FBI began collecting data in the 1990s. There were 683 hate crimes against Jews in 2020, 963 in 2019 and 847 in 2018. The FBI’s data is based on voluntary reporting by local law enforcement and appropriate characterization of crimes as also being hate crimes. For a variety of reasons, dozens of large cities either underreport or do not report hate crime data at all. For that reason, experts, including at ADL, know that the real figure for crimes targeting Jews, as well as other marginalized communities, is even higher than the FBI reporting indicates.

A violent attack against the Jewish community occurred earlier this year on January 15th, when a gunman entered Congregation Beth Israel in Colleyville, Texas, during services, taking three congregants and the rabbi as hostages. Though the standoff ended with all hostages freed and physically unharmed, the violent act reinforced the need to forcefully address the threat of antisemitic violence – experienced by the Colleyville community and far too many others. The fact that the Colleyville attacker traveled from the United Kingdom underscores that there can be foreign influences on domestic terrorism, either through incitement, coordination, or direct participation.

Rising Antisemitism

ADL has recorded a 37% increase in antisemitic incidents over the past five years. While antisemitism has commonalities with racism, anti-Muslim bias, xenophobia, homophobia, transphobia, misogyny and other forms of hate and discrimination, it also has certain unique characteristics as a specific set of ideologies about Jews that have migrated across discourses – and across centuries. In almost every part of our society, this hatred has been conjured and adjusted to suit the values, beliefs and fears of specific demographics and contexts. The underlying conspiracy theories employing Jew-hatred morph to fit the anxieties and upheavals of the time – for example, that Jews were responsible for the Black Death in medieval times and for “inventing,” spreading, or profiting from COVID in the 21st century; or that Jews exercise extraordinary power over governments, media, and finance – from the charges of a conspiracy to achieve world domination set forth in the Protocols of the Elders of Zion and used by the Nazis, to thinly veiled antisemitism blaming “globalism” and “cosmopolitan elites” for all the ills of the world and for planning a “new world order.”

Each year, ADL’s Center on Extremism (COE) tracks incidents of antisemitic harassment, vandalism, and assault in the United States. Since 1979, we have published this information in an annual [Audit of Antisemitic Incidents](#). ADL’s 2021 Audit of Antisemitic Incidents in the United States recorded 2,717 acts of assault, vandalism, and harassment in 2021 alone, an average of more than seven incidents per day. This represents a thirty-four percent increase from 2020 and **the highest year of incidents on record since ADL began tracking antisemitic incidents in 1979.**

Known extremist groups or individuals inspired by extremist ideology were responsible for 484 incidents in 2021, up from 332 incidents in 2020. This represents 18% of the total number of incidents in 2021.

ADL’s 2021 audit also revealed that antisemitic incidents in the U.S. more than doubled during the May 2021 military conflict between Israel and Hamas and its immediate aftermath compared to the same time period in 2020. For the entire month of May, 387 antisemitic incidents were tabulated by ADL. The lion’s share of 297 occurred between May 10 – the official start of military action – and the end of the month, an increase of 141% over the same period in 2020 (123). The perpetrators of many of these incidents explicitly referred to the conflict between Israel and Hamas. After peaking during that period, incident levels gradually returned to a baseline level.

Murder and Extremism: By the Numbers

The alarming uptick in antisemitic incidents is representative of the rising hate and extremist violence threatening minority and marginalized communities across the country.

In 2021, based on [ADL’s research](#), domestic extremists killed at least 29 people in the United States, in 19 separate incidents. This represents a modest increase from the 23 extremist-related murders documented in 2020 but is far lower than the number of murders committed in any of the five years prior (which ranged from 45 to 78). While this could be cause for optimism, more likely it is the result of COVID lockdowns reducing mass gatherings and the increased attention of law enforcement following the January 6, 2021 insurrection.

Most of the murders (26 of 29) were committed by right-wing extremists, who have been responsible for roughly 3 in 4 domestic extremist murders over the last decade.

White Supremacist Propaganda

ADL's [Center on Extremism \(COE\)](#) tracked a near-doubling of white supremacist propaganda efforts in 2020, which included the distribution of racist, antisemitic and anti-LGBTQ+ fliers, stickers, banners and posters. [The 2021 data](#) shows a slight 5% drop in incidents from the previous year, with a total of 4,851 cases reported to ADL, compared to 5,125 in 2020. Despite the drop in overall incidents, 2021 saw a 27 percent increase in antisemitic propaganda distributions, rising from 277 incidents in 2020 to 352 incidents in 2021.

Propaganda gives white supremacists the ability to maximize media and online attention, while limiting the risk of individual exposure, negative media coverage, arrests and public backlash that often accompanies more public events. The barrage of propaganda, which overwhelmingly features veiled white supremacist language with a “patriotic” slant, is an effort to normalize white supremacists’ message and bolster recruitment efforts while targeting marginalized communities including Jews, Black people, Muslims, non-white immigrants and LGBTQ+ people.

Modern White Supremacy

Extremist white supremacist ideology is more than a collection of prejudices: it is a complete ideology or worldview that can be as deeply seated as strongly held religious beliefs.

Different variations and versions of extremist white supremacist ideology have evolved and expanded over time to include an emphasis on antisemitism and nativism. These extremists themselves typically no longer use the term “white supremacist,” as they once proudly did, but instead tend to prefer various euphemisms, ranging from “white nationalist” to “white separatist” to “race realist” or “identitarian.” Even in the face of these complexities, it is still possible to arrive at a useful working definition of the concept of extremist white supremacy.

Through the Civil Rights era, white supremacist ideology focused on the perceived need to maintain the dominance of the white race in the United States. After the Civil Rights era, extremist white supremacists realized that their views had become increasingly unpopular in society and their ideology adapted to this new reality.

Today, white supremacist ideology, no matter what version or variation, tends to focus on the notion that the white race itself is now threatened with imminent extinction, doomed — unless white people take imminent action — due to a rising tide of people of color who are being controlled and manipulated by Jews. Extremist white supremacists promote the concept of ongoing or future “white genocide” in their efforts to wake white people up to their supposedly dire racial future.

The popular white supremacist slogan known as the “Fourteen Words” reflects these beliefs and holds center stage: “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children”— secure a future, as white supremacists see it, in the face of their enemies’ efforts to destroy it.

This twisted and conspiratorial ideology was on display in 2017 in Charlottesville as white supremacists marched with tiki torches chanting [“Jews will not replace us,”](#) a rally that ended in

the death of counter-protester Heather Heyer. It was on display in 2019 during the horrific mass shooting in El Paso. When [a white supremacist opened fire in a shopping center](#), killing 23 people, he was motivated by what he called “the Hispanic invasion of Texas.” And when the mass shooter at the Pittsburgh Tree of Life synagogue massacred 11 Jews on the Jewish Sabbath, he shouted not only “All Jews Must Die!” but claimed to be murdering Jews because they were helping to transport members of the large groups of undocumented immigrants making their way north towards the U.S. from Latin America, which is perceived by white supremacists as a Jewish effort to replace the “rightful” white population of the U.S.

The world watched in horror as this rhetoric took violent form yet again in May 2022, when a gunman killed 10 people and injured 3 more inside a Tops supermarket in Buffalo, New York, after espousing violent white supremacist and antisemitic views online. This shooter was the latest in a long line of violent domestic terrorists who embraced the virulently racist and antisemitic “[Great Replacement](#)” conspiracy theory, which argues that Jews are responsible for non-white immigration into the United States, and that non-white immigrants will eventually replace (and lead to the extinction of) the white race.

Anti-Zionist and anti-Israel Antisemitism

While the preponderance of antisemitism and violent threats to the Jewish community emanate from the right, a steady stream of antisemitism on the left persists, often related to Israel. Of course, some criticism of Israel is part of a healthy political ecosystem. However, a segment of the left sometimes espouses ideas that go beyond legitimate critique and into antisemitic tropes or the vilification and ostracization of Jews. Often, anti-Israel activists will claim they are only targeting “Zionists,” but this encompasses the vast majority of Jews who feel a connection to or affinity with Israel as part of their Jewish identities. The bottom line is that the Jewish community suffers.

The vilification of Zionism and ostracization of Zionists is increasingly emerging as a common phenomenon within some left-wing spaces. Zionism, broadly defined as the movement for Jewish self-determination and statehood in the Jewish people’s historic homeland in the Land of Israel, is increasingly seen by left-wing activists as unjustifiable or illegitimate. This has absolutely no basis in reality. To be clear: Zionism is not in opposition to the Palestinians and affords the Palestinians the exact same rights to self-determination and statehood as the Jewish people. Yet anti-Zionist activists on the left often invoke the words “Zionism” and “Zionist” in a pejorative manner to demean, disparage and attempt to ostracize Jews. Some claim one cannot be a feminist and a Zionist or that Zionism and Zionists are inherently linked to white supremacy. This has real-world consequences:

- About a year ago, we saw the DC chapter of environmental justice group Sunrise Movement attempt to exclude Jewish groups from their coalition due to their “Zionism.” The DC chapter apologized and reversed course- but not without significant organizing by the Jewish community – and pushback from many anti-Zionist activists.
- In at least two cases just this year, student groups expelled members due to their “Zionism.” In February 2022, a student testified that she was harassed on campus and dismissed from her a cappella group for being a Zionist [UConn]. Also in February 2022, two members of a campus support group for sexual assault survivors [at SUNY New Paltz] were forced to resign from the group due to their self-identification as Zionist.

Segments of the left are increasingly holding American Jews or "Zionists" responsible for alleged human rights abuses committed by the state of Israel against the Palestinians, which can lead to not only ostracization but harassment:

- In June 2021, someone in a vehicle passing Hillel at Princeton University yelled "Free Palestine" at a group of Jewish students and faculty who were preparing to begin religious services on the lawn.
- In Lakewood in March 2021, an individual yelled at a visibly Jewish person, "Free the Palestine" and "F*** the Jews."
- In Brooklyn in September 2021, a visibly Jewish boy with a group of other Jewish children was approached by a man on a subway platform. The man shook the child's arm and yelled at him, asking why they were "killing kids in Gaza."

On campus, we have also seen the vandalizing of Hillel property, calls for Hillel to be cut off from the broader campus community and anti-Israel protests outside of Hillel. Off campus, we have seen protestors outside of synagogues. Protesting outside a synagogue, Hillel or any Jewish institution may be considered tantamount to holding the Jewish community responsible for the alleged actions of the Israeli state.

The espousal of antisemitic tropes by some anti-Zionist and left-wing activists is also an issue. "Zionists," or mainstream American Jewish institutions, have been accused of having outsized and nefarious influence in government, control over the media, or of having excessive financial greed. For instance, Roger Waters, who is often invited to speak by anti-Zionist groups, has claimed that a nefarious "Israel lobby" prevented the election of Jeremy Corbyn in the UK. He has also referred to Zionists with the antisemitic canard "cabal." On campus, just this April, in an email to much of the student body, NYU Law's SJP (Students for Justice in Palestine) group alleged that "the Zionist grip on the media is omnipresent."

These tropes are becoming more and more normalized in mainstream progressive spaces. Today, unfortunately, Jews on campus who so much as publicly express affinity with Israel's existence are ever more likely to have a difficult time being accepted. Some Jews may feel forced to hide their connection to Israel in order to be included. The net effect is that much of the Jewish community feels a sense of being under siege.

Online Hate

In recent years, extremists' online presence has reverberated across a range of social media platforms. This extremist content is intertwined with hate, racism, antisemitism, and misogyny—all also through-lines of white supremacist ideology. Such content is enmeshed in conspiracy theories and explodes on platforms that are themselves tuned to spread disinformation. We can look no further than the deadly insurrection at our Capitol, which ADL called the most predictable terror attack in U.S. history, because it was planned and promoted out in the open on mainstream platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube, as well as fringe platforms such as Parler, Gab, 4Chan and Telegram. There is little doubt that fringe platforms have helped radicalize users and normalize both online and offline extremist actions, but Big Tech platforms are no longer unwitting accomplices.

Mainstream Social Media Platforms

Fringe platforms, despite having relatively small user bases, leverage Big Tech platforms like Twitter and Facebook to increase their reach and influence. In the case of Big Tech, white supremacist propaganda has found its viral channel. It's a perfect storm. First, there is the well-researched human propensity to engage with the most incendiary, inciting, and hateful content. This in turn meets the business model of Big Tech, which depends on increasing engagement of users to surveil them and collect copious amounts of data about them—and their associates and activities—all to sell as many hyper-targeted advertisements as possible. The profit incentive demands engagement; hate, antisemitism, and extremism deliver it; and then algorithms amplify that hateful and antisemitic content to generate even more engagement. Toxic speech is thus given reach and impact unparalleled in human history. For example, in 2020, a single “Stop the Steal” Facebook group gained more than 300,000 members within 24 hours. Thousands of newcomers a minute joined this group and some of them openly advocated civil war.

Meta

Meta, which owns platforms such as Facebook, Instagram and WhatsApp, claims that it is meaningfully addressing hate and antisemitism on its platforms. ADL and others, however, continue to expose egregious examples of online antisemitism, hate, misinformation, and extremism across the company's products. The spread of QAnon and its consistent elevation of antisemitism, the mainstreaming of the foundational white supremacist and neo-Nazi [“Replacement Theory,”](#) the Big Lie about the 2020 presidential election, and COVID conspiracies, all are examples of extremism, antisemitism, and hate that has become increasingly normalized and mainstreamed—in large part because of its viral spread online.

Social media companies, like Meta, know their role in the spread and normalization of this hate. Documents disclosed to the SEC by Facebook whistleblower Frances Haugen made it clear that Facebook was aware of both the specific role its platform played in the insurrection and the broader role the platform plays in the spread of disinformation, extremism, and hate. The SEC disclosure included statements from Facebook's internal documents. These documents acknowledged Facebook's role in augmenting “combustible election misinformation,” noting “we amplify them and give them broader distribution.” Internal Facebook documents also stated that the company had “evidence from a variety of sources that hate speech, divisive political speech and misinformation on Facebook and the family of apps are affecting societies around the world...Our core products mechanics, such as virality, recommendations, and optimizing for engagement, are a significant part of why these types of speech flourish.”

Notably, extremists leverage mainstream platforms like Meta's Facebook to ensure that the hateful and antisemitic philosophies, which often began to germinate on message boards like Gab and 8chan (now 8kun), find a new and much larger audience. Meta's platforms have served as a gateway for extremists and hatermongers to recruit curious individuals. Extremists use strategies like creating private pages and events; using coded language (called dog whistles) to imply and spread a hateful and antisemitic ideology on mainstream platforms; and linking to hate-filled sites (versus outright posting certain content) to avoid content moderation.

TikTok

In less than seven years, TikTok—the social media app that allows users to create and share short videos—has amassed over 1 billion users. It is particularly popular among young people. As ADL [documented in August 2020](#) and [June 2021](#), while much of the content on TikTok is lighthearted and fun, extremists and antisemites have exploited TikTok to share hateful messages and recruit new adherents. Antisemitism continues to percolate across the app, with posts perpetuating age-old anti-Jewish tropes and conspiracy theories. Recordings of [Louis Farrakhan](#), Rick Wiles (of TruNews), and Stephen Anderson—all antisemitic individuals whose bigotry has been thoroughly documented by ADL—were readily available on TikTok in 2021. One such post, shared on May 23, 2021, showed a clip of a TruNews segment in which Rick Wiles states: “And our leaders are lowlife scum that screw little girls so the Jews can screw America...we’ve allowed Kabbalah practicing Jews to defile the nation.” [TruNews](#), a fundamentalist Christian streaming news and opinion platform that produces antisemitic, anti-Zionist, anti-LGBTQ+, and Islamophobic content, has been banned from YouTube and Facebook for violating the platforms’ content rules.

Twitter

The pending purchase of Twitter by billionaire Elon Musk has significantly damaged Twitter’s efforts to address extremism and antisemitism. Musk has expressed open disdain both for the idea of content moderation and for the work of specific Twitter staff in making the platform safer and more inclusive. In July 2022, [ADL tested Twitter’s enforcement against antisemitism](#) by reporting 225 strongly antisemitic tweets to the platform. Twitter only removed 5% of the reported content (11 tweets). Their reasoning was not that this was an enforcement error but rather that they either took “non-removal actions” or that the tweets in question did not have “repeated” antisemitic content, and thus did not rise to a level of breaking their platform policies. The response from Twitter significantly minimizes the impact that antisemitism and hate have on individuals from targeted communities. In [another study from this year](#), ADL found a 37% overlap between a set of Twitter users that tweeted false and misleading narratives about the Buffalo extremist attack in May 2022 and disinformation related to the outcome of the 2020 election. Twitter took no or minimal action on these users who repeatedly spread harmful and dangerous false information, which is further evidence of the significant work Twitter must undertake to make their platform safe against antisemitism and harmful false information.

YouTube

YouTube has remained under the radar for its role in spreading hate, antisemitism, disinformation, and misinformation as compared to Facebook and Twitter. YouTube waited more than a month after the 2020 presidential election to remove videos claiming electoral fraud—by then, millions of people had been exposed to false information that eroded trust in our democracy. Furthermore, [ADL research](#) shows YouTube continues to push people toward extremist content despite the company’s claim that it has overhauled its recommendation algorithms.

ADL’s February 2021 Belfer Fellow report indicates that exposure to videos from extremist or white supremacist channels on YouTube remains disturbingly common. The report’s authors conducted a study that measured the browsing habits of a diverse national sample of participants and found that approximately one in ten participants viewed at least one video from an extremist channel (9.2%) and approximately two in ten (22.1%) viewed at least one video from an alternative (gateway) channel. Moreover, participants often received and sometimes followed

YouTube recommendations for videos from alternative and extremist channels. Overall, consumption of alternative and extremist content was concentrated among highly engaged respondents, most frequently among those with negative racial views. In total, people with high racial resentment were responsible for more than 90% of views for videos from alternative and extremist channels.

An [investigation undertaken this year](#) showed the ways in which hateful organizations such as the antisemitic and anti-LGBTQ+ New Independent Fundamental Baptist Movement (New IFB) have utilized new product features on YouTube to grow their followings, and how YouTube has not put sufficient protections in place to keep hateful groups from weaponizing their product features. Utilizing the new “YouTube Shorts” product feature, the New IFB was able to grow the views on their content by over 100-fold from an average of 85 views to an average of 8,500 views.

Extremism in 2021 and 2022

The January 6, 2021 siege on the Capitol was an assault on our country and our democracy. Many of those who were roused to violence that day did so as the result of weeks and months (and years) of incitement, on and offline. These individuals included a range of right-wing extremists united by their fury with the perceived large-scale betrayal by “unprincipled” Republican legislators. Many of the individuals who stormed the Capitol have ties to known right-wing extremist groups, including [Oath Keepers](#), [Proud Boys](#), [Groypers](#) and other white supremacists, and those who believe the [QAnon](#) conspiracy theory. A number of Proud Boys members and Oath Keepers have [been charged with conspiracy in connection](#) with the January 6 insurrection. More information on these extremist groups is provided below.

Others who participated in the attack on the U.S. Capitol are considered part of the [new pro-Trump extremist movement](#), a decentralized but enthusiastic faction made up of self-described “patriots” who continue to pledge their fidelity to the former President and his false assertions that he actually won the 2020 election and that it was stolen from him by, among other things, massive voter fraud. This new breed of extremist is foundationally animated by devotion to Trump, placing him over party or country. They are living inside an ecosphere of misinformation, disinformation, lies and conspiracy theories, fertilized by Alex Jones, QAnon, the former President and his enablers, and many others.

Oath Keepers

The Oath Keepers are a large but loosely organized collection of right-wing anti-government extremists who are part of the [militia movement](#), which believes that the federal government has been seized by a shadowy conspiracy that is trying to strip U.S. citizens of their rights. Though the Oath Keepers will accept anyone as members, what differentiates them from other anti-government extremist groups is their explicit focus on recruiting current and former military, law enforcement, and first responder personnel.

New analysis from ADL’s Center on Extremism (COE) found that the leaked membership list for the [Oath Keepers](#) includes hundreds of elected officials, law enforcement officers, members of the military, and first responders.

In September 2021, the non-profit journalist collective Distributed Denial of Secrets released the membership database for the Oath Keepers organization. The membership data, which includes

more than 38,000 names, provides unique insight into the people who signed up for the organization over the years, and helps illuminate the extent to which the group's anti-government ideology has permeated mainstream society.

ADL's analysis uses the leaked data to highlight the number of individuals who signed up for or supported the Oath Keepers in key areas: elected office, law enforcement, the military, and emergency services – as well as in the general population.

Key Findings

- As of August 8, the Center on Extremism (COE) has identified **373 individuals on the Oath Keepers membership list believed to be currently serving in law enforcement agencies across the country**. This number is far higher than any previously identified number of extremists within law enforcement. For comparison, an ADL report released in 2021 identified 76 cases – 73 of which were unique – in which extremists were found serving in law enforcement.
- ADL identified individuals we believe are currently holding senior leadership positions within their respective agencies, **including at least ten chiefs of police and eleven sheriffs**.
- In addition to those actively serving in law enforcement, ADL identified **more than 1,000 individuals who we believe previously served in law enforcement**.
- ADL's Center on Extremism (COE) analysis identified **81 individuals on the Oath Keepers membership list** who are currently holding or running for public office across the country in 2022. These individuals run the gamut from local office – mayors, town council members, school board members – to state representatives and senators.
- Prior to this year's primary season, ADL confirmed 42 Oath Keepers-aligned individuals who were up for election for public office in 2022, consisting of 22 incumbents and 20 candidates.
 - As of August 8, **21 of these candidates** have advanced to the general election either by winning their primary or having their primary cancelled. 13 of the candidates have lost their primary race. Even more concerning, **four individuals** have already won their general election.
- ADL identified **117 individuals who we believe currently serve in the U.S. military**, an additional **11 people who serve in the reserves**, and **31 individuals who hold civilian positions** or are military contractors.
- In addition to those currently serving in the military, ADL estimates that **one in ten of the individuals** in the database previously served in the military in some capacity.

The Proud Boys

The Proud Boys are a right-wing extremist group with a violent agenda. They are primarily misogynistic, Islamophobic, transphobic and anti-immigration. Some members espouse white supremacist and antisemitic ideologies and/or engage with white supremacist groups. Proud Boys are known to attend public rallies and protests sporting black and yellow Fred Perry polo shirts, other black and yellow clothing, and tactical vests. Members have been known to engage in violent tactics and several members have been convicted of violent crimes.

Nationally, Proud Boys members account for one of the highest numbers of extremist arrestees in relation to the January 6th insurrection, including three New Yorkers who belong to local Proud Boys chapters. Additionally, the Proud Boys latched on to anti-mask and anti-vaccine activism, attending, and at times disrupting, school board meetings as well as related protests and rallies. There are nine chapters affiliated with the Proud Boys in New York, with the newest chapter created in early 2022. Local Proud Boys have staged flash demonstrations and have advertised and participated in protests against COVID-19 measures in multiple locations around the state.

In [December 2021](#), ADL joined D.C. Attorney General Karl Racine and other pro bono counsel in bringing a civil lawsuit arising out of the January 6 insurrection on behalf of Washington, D.C. against the Proud Boys, Oath Keepers, and individuals associated with both groups. The case, which brings allegations under the Reconstruction Era KKK Act, among other laws, seeks to hold accountable the groups and affiliated individuals for their role in planning and executing the attack on the Capitol in an attempt to overturn a lawful presidential election.

Groypers/Groyper Army

The so-called “Groyper army” (the term “Groyper” is explained below) is a white supremacist group, led by Nick Fuentes, that presents its ideology as more nuanced than that of other groups in the white supremacist sphere. While the group and its leadership’s views align with those held by the white supremacist alt-right, Groypers attempt to normalize their ideology by aligning themselves with “Christianity” and “traditional values,” ostensibly championed by the church, including marriage and family.

Like the alt-right and other white supremacists, Groypers believe they are working to defend against demographic and cultural changes that are destroying the “true America” – a white, Christian nation. They identify themselves as “American nationalists” who are part of the “America First” movement. To the Groypers, “America First” means that the U.S. should close its borders, bar immigrants, oppose “globalism,” promote “traditional” values like Christianity, and oppose “liberal” values such as feminism and LGBTQ+ rights. They claim to not be racist or antisemitic and see their bigoted views as “normal” and necessary to preserve white, European-American identity and culture. However, some members have expressed racist and antisemitic views on multiple occasions. They believe their views are shared by the majority of white people.

QAnon and Other Conspiracy Theories

QAnon is a global, wide-reaching and remarkably elaborate conspiracy theory that has taken root within [some parts of the pro-Trump movement](#). It is an amalgam of both novel and well-established theories, with marked undertones of antisemitism and xenophobia. Fundamentally, the theory claims that almost every president in recent U.S. history up until Donald Trump has been a puppet put in place by a global elite of power brokers hell-bent on enriching themselves and maintaining their Satanic child-murdering sex cult. These theories are based largely on cryptic posts from an anonymous user called “Q” who started posting on message boards such as 4chan in late 2017 and claims to have high-level access to secret intelligence within the U.S. government. Q is a reference to “Q clearance” or “Q access authorization”—terms used to describe a top-secret clearance level within the Department of Energy.

According to QAnon lore, this global elite, known as “The Deep State” or “The Cabal,” control not just world governments, but the banking system, the Catholic church, the agricultural and pharmaceutical industries, the media, and entertainment industry—all working around the clock

to keep the people of the world poor, ignorant and enslaved.

Conspiracy theories, rampant in the United States, have an unusual power to motivate people to action. Some conspiracy theories are associated with various right-wing or left-wing ideologies, while others transcend ideology, like those surrounding the 9/11 attacks or the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Under the right circumstances, such theories can motivate people to violence, especially if the conspiracy theories single out specific people or organizations as the villains.

Most extremist movements develop or depend on conspiracy theories to some degree. In the United States, extreme right-wing movements have a particularly close relationship to conspiracy theories. Anti-Muslim extremists promote “Sharia law” conspiracy theories, for example, to increase anti-Muslim animus, while anti-immigrant border vigilantes justify their patrols with conspiracy theories about Mexican drug cartels waging a secret invasion of the United States.

For some right-wing extremist movements, conspiracy theories lie at the heart of their extreme worldviews. The modern white supremacist movement, for example, centers its beliefs on the notion that the white race is in danger of extinction from growing numbers of people of color who are controlled and manipulated by a nefarious Jewish conspiracy. Anti-government extremist movements, such as the militia movement and the sovereign citizen movement, are based on conspiracy theories that focus on the federal government.

As a result, much of the violence stemming from extremist white supremacists and anti-government extremists can be attributed, directly or indirectly, to such conspiracy theories. Conspiracy theories often sharpen anger that extremists already feel to the point where they become willing to take violent action.

In 2021, disparate groups of [QAnon](#) adherents, [election fraud promoters](#) and [anti-vaccine](#) activists organized events around the country to promote their causes. This phenomenon underscores the extent to which the line separating the mainstream from the extreme has blurred, and how mainstream efforts to undermine our democratic institutions are bolstered by extremist and conspiratorial narratives and their supporters.

These narratives include:

- That the 2020 presidential election was stolen by the Democrats (touted at the Health and Freedom events organized by right-wing entrepreneur Clay Clark);
- That a global cabal of pedophiles (including Democrats) who are kidnapping children for their blood, will be executed when Donald Trump is reinstated as president (popular at The Patriot Voice: For God and Country conference, organized by QAnon influencer John Sabal, a/k/a “QAnon John,” and at the We the People Patriots Day event and the OKC Freedom conference);
- That the coronavirus was co-created in a lab by Director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, Dr. Anthony Fauci and Microsoft founder, Bill Gates;
- That the coronavirus vaccine contains dangerous ingredients that change your DNA and make vaccinated people “shed” dangerous toxins;
- That Satanic socialists are attempting to take over the country; and
- That if Democrats and “the left” remain in power, a confrontation, potentially violent, will be necessary to “reclaim” the country.

These narratives go well beyond the mainstream into extreme territory.

Long-Term Trends: The Growing Threat of Domestic Terrorism

While it is impossible to say with absolute certainty what lies ahead, we know that white supremacists and some other extremists, including anti-Muslim extremists, anti-immigrant extremists, and antisemites, are driven by conspiracy theories as well as manufactured fears around demographic change. Some extremists fear that this will only accelerate as the Biden Administration is perceived by them to enact more humane policies towards immigrants and refugees who are people of color. Extremists equate those policies to “white genocide.”

Militia and other anti-government groups may also be very active in the next few years. The militia movement has historically derived much of its energy and vitality from its rage towards the federal government. However, the movement’s support of President Trump during his administration dulled that anger. As it progresses, the Biden Administration’s existence may give militias an excuse to return to their foundational grievances: the belief that a tyrannical government in league with a globalist conspiracy is coming to enslave them by taking first their guns and then the remainder of their rights.

Finally, antisemitism will likely continue to be a central part of the conspiratorial views that fuel right-wing violence, as it has been for so long. It is crucial to recognize not only the threat to Jews and Jewish institutions this poses, but also both the foundational and animating impetus it gives violent white extremism, whatever its targets. And it is also vitally important to understand the role that antisemitic conspiracies play in the wider threat to our democracy. Antisemitism isn’t just bigotry directed toward Jews. Antisemitism uses hatred and bigotry against the Jewish community to undermine democratic practices by framing democracy as a conspiracy, as Eric Ward of the Western States Center notes, “rather than as a tool of empowerment or a functional tool of governance. In other words, the more people buy into antisemitism and its understanding of the world, the more they lose faith in democracy.”

Extremist and Antisemitic Trends and Incidents in New Jersey

New Jersey has been a hotbed for extremist activity and antisemitic incidents over the past few years, as white supremacist and extremist groups have continued to maintain an active presence in the state, using propaganda to communicate their hateful messages more broadly and to recruit new members.

In 2020, ADL documented a whopping 323 incidents of white supremacist propaganda distribution across New Jersey.¹ Last year, ADL recorded 179 such incidents—positioning New Jersey among the top 10 states in the country for documented incidents. Patriot Front (101), based in Texas, along with the New Jersey European Heritage Association (59), were the most active groups in the state in 2021, followed by White Lives Matter (10).

The New Jersey European Heritage Association (NJEHA), despite its seemingly innocuous name, is a white supremacist group—active in New Jersey and elsewhere—whose members see themselves as defenders of people of white European descent and white culture. Members hold the white supremacist worldview that unless immediate action is taken, the white race is doomed to extinction by a “rising tide of color” purportedly controlled and manipulated by Jews. The group

¹ Propaganda incidents are counted as a single incident even if thousands of pamphlets are distributed.

believes its mission is to “wrest political, economic, and social control away from the hostile elite who have usurped power in America.” To do this, followers are called upon to “Reclaim America.” The group espouses antisemitic, racist, and anti-immigrant rhetoric, propagandized in the form of flyers, stickers, banners, and social media posts. Known members have current and former ties to racist skinhead organizations, the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement, other white supremacist groups, and the White Lives Matter movement. Many of NJEHA’s members or close associates organized and attended the neo-Nazi, antisemitic “Fash Bash 2019” celebrating Hitler’s 130th birthday. Most recently, members of the NJEHA disrupted the South Plainfield Labor Day parade carrying a banner that read “Defend American Labor Close the Border.”

In 2021, white supremacist propaganda was distributed in the following New Jersey municipalities: New Brunswick (8), Trenton (8), Montclair (6), Princeton (6), Bordentown (5), Cherry Hill (4), Hamilton (4), Lambertville (3), Asbury Park (3), Somerset (3), Newark (3), Morristown (3), Lyndhurst (3), and Totowa (3). The Northern New Jersey area (Mercer, Middlesex, Monmouth, Somerset, Hunterdon, Morris, Warren, Sussex, Passaic, Bergen, Hudson, Essex, Union) had the most reported incidents of white supremacist propaganda (143). The Southern New Jersey area (Ocean, Burlington, Atlantic, Camden, Gloucester, Salem, Cumberland, Cape May) had 36 reported instances of white supremacist propaganda.

Against this concerning backdrop, antisemitic incidents rose by 25% in New Jersey in 2021, reaching 370 total incidents, as detailed in ADL’s Annual [Audit of Antisemitic Incidents](#) released in April 2022. This is the highest number of antisemitic incidents ever recorded by ADL in New Jersey, and the second-highest number recorded in any state across the country last year (New Jersey was second only to New York).

According to the data, New Jersey experienced increases in antisemitic incidents across all three main categories compiled by ADL—harassment (252 incidents; 34% increase from 2020), vandalism (112 incidents; 7% increase from 2020) and assault (6 incidents; 150% increase from 2020). Incidents took place in public areas (123), in non-Jewish K-12 schools (82), at Jewish institutions (44), at private residences (4), at business establishments (35), and online (29).

Geographically, Bergen County accounted for the highest number of documented antisemitic incidents, with 70 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2021. Ocean County had 44 incidents, Mercer County had 39 incidents, Middlesex County had 31 incidents, and Union County had 30 incidents. Of the 70 reported incidents in Bergen County, 49 were incidents of harassment and 21 were incidents of vandalism. In one notable Bergen County incident, a man smashed the windows of a doctor’s office with a hammer and asked patients, “Are you Jewish?” Three of the six antisemitic assaults in New Jersey in 2021 occurred in Ocean County.

Antisemitic attacks have continued in 2022, and the Jewish community in Lakewood, New Jersey has been particularly vulnerable. In January 2022, for example, a snowplow driver posted a video to his Facebook page appearing to show his plow intentionally targeting two Orthodox Jewish men. Alongside his video post, the driver wrote, “This one’s for you JC.” A few months later, in April 2022, multiple victims were hospitalized following a violent crime spree in nearby Jackson, New Jersey involving a carjacking, stabbing, and two pedestrians being struck by the stolen vehicle. Acting New Jersey Attorney General Matthew Platkin approved a terrorism charge in this case as Prosecutor Bradley Billhimer stated these attacks were “intended to terrorize the Jewish

community in Lakewood and Jackson.”

On New Jersey university and college campuses, there was a 17% increase in incidents of antisemitic harassment in 2021. ADL recorded five incidents of antisemitic vandalism on college campuses in New Jersey in 2021, including swastikas being drawn on academic and residential buildings, mezuzahs being stolen and even a Jewish fraternity being egged. This same Jewish fraternity was egged once again during Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year, in 2022.

Jewish institutions also saw a sharp increase in antisemitic incidents in 2021—the 44 incidents that took place at Jewish institutions far exceeded pre-pandemic levels and represented a 76% increase relative to incidents recorded in 2020. Of these incidents, 39 were incidents of harassment, four were incidents of vandalism, and one was an incident of assault.

Incidents related to Israel or Zionism in New Jersey, which may be broadly defined as support for Jewish statehood and self-determination in the Jewish people’s ancestral homeland in the Land of Israel, increased by 35% in 2021, reaching a total of 27 incidents. Notably, ADL recorded the highest number of antisemitic incidents in New Jersey during the month of May 2021 (56), which directly coincided with the escalating conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza. This was 86% higher than the state’s average monthly total (30). Of the 56 incidents recorded in New Jersey that month, 14 included explicit references to Israel or Zionism. These included:

- On May 8, an individual in a passing car yelled “Free Palestine” and antisemitic slurs at a group of Jewish people who were praying outside.
- On May 16, four individuals shouted, “Fuck Israel, Free Palestine” after passing a visibly Jewish person on the street.
- On May 17, a Jewish man was harassed with anti-Israel and antisemitic remarks by a passerby in a car.

Consistent with these disturbing trends, 2021 was a record-high year for total reported bias incidents in New Jersey. According to preliminary statistics released by the New Jersey State Police, the overall number of bias incidents reported in 2021 (1,871 incidents) represents the highest annual number of bias incidents reported since the State began tracking them in 1994. Notably, 2021 was the first year in which New Jersey State Police separately tracked incidents occurring in “cyberspace,” which previously were classified as “other/unknown.” There were 275 reported bias incidents occurring in cyberspace in 2021 (roughly 15% of all reported incidents).

Underreporting continues to be a challenge in many New Jersey communities—particularly for those in marginalized communities—as victims of bias crimes and antisemitic incidents face significant barriers to reporting hate crimes in the first instance. There is also significant underreporting of hate crimes to the FBI, particularly where reporting remains voluntary by law enforcement agencies. ADL strongly encourages law enforcement agencies to report hate crime statistics to the FBI and is working with elected officials, law enforcement leaders, and community members across New Jersey to tackle these challenges.

Finally, ADL has been increasingly concerned about anti-government extremist activity across the country and in New Jersey, including from groups like the Oath Keepers. According to the recently leaked Oath Keepers membership list reviewed by ADL’s Center on Extremism (COE), 588

individuals had ties to New Jersey, including 1 elected official, 12 members of law enforcement, 2 active military, and 4 first responders.

Extremist and Antisemitic Trends and Incidents in New York

The last two years have seen a significant proliferation of hate incidents in New York State, as detailed in ADL's Center on Extremism's (COE) June 2022 joint report with the Community Security Initiative (CSI) – [*Hate In The Empire State*](#). There is a broad diversity of extremist threats in New York, including from anti-government extremists, militias, white supremacists, and radical Islamists. Throughout 2020 and 2021, extremist groups have engaged in an array of activities, including: threatening local officials, disrupting school board meetings, running for elected positions, funding terrorism, conducting cyber-attacks, organizing rallies, engaging in propaganda distributions and even committing violence.

White supremacist propaganda distribution accounts for a large proportion of extremist-related incidents in New York. In 2021, New York State ranked seventh nationally in terms of white supremacist propaganda distribution incidents, with 212 such incidents recorded across the state.

The Goyim Defense League (GDL), a network of virulently antisemitic propagandists attracting a range of antisemites and white supremacists, has already been very active in 2022. Other extremist groups active in New York include Black nationalist extremist groups, Islamist extremists that align with Al-Qa'ida and ISIS, QAnon, and the New York Watchmen. Oath Keepers also has a strong presence. ADL researchers recently documented 1,996 individuals on the leaked Oath Keepers membership list who have ties to New York—5 are elected officials and 45 are members of law enforcement.

Extremist incidents in New York, as is the case across the country, are often rooted in widespread campaigns of disinformation and conspiracy theories. A tragic manifestation of this national phenomena occurred on May 14, 2022 in Buffalo, New York, when a gunman killed 10 people and injured 3 more inside a Tops supermarket. According to an online screed allegedly written by the shooter and posted before the attack, he espoused white supremacist, racist, and antisemitic conspiracy theories (including the Great Replacement Theory) and claimed his goal was to “spread awareness to my fellow whites about the real problems the West is facing,” and “encourage further attacks that will eventually start the war that will save the Western world.”

Hate crimes remain a significant concern across New York State, and in New York City specifically, where documented hate crimes have more than doubled since 2020. Indeed, according to NYPD data, hate crimes increased 196% from 2020 (266 incidents) to 2021 (522 incidents). At the state level, and according to FBI data, antisemitic hate crimes accounted for 88.3% of the religiously motivated hate crime incidents in 2020.

Against this backdrop, it is not surprising that New York leads the nation in antisemitic incidents, according to the ADL's annual Audit of Antisemitic Incidents. In 2021, the number of reported incidents increased 24% over 2020 numbers, rising from 336 to 416 incidents. These numbers include a spike in antisemitic incidents driven by extreme anti-Israel sentiment during the May 2021 Israel-Hamas conflict. Incidents motivated by such animus included assault, arson threats, and harassment. For example:

- On May 11, a Jewish preschool received a harassing phone call from an individual who accused Jews of persecuting Palestinians and said that Jews should die.
- On May 15, a Jewish family was harassed while walking to synagogue by a woman who yelled at them, “You evil Jewish people are killing Palestinian children.”
- On May 20, a number of individuals beat and yelled antisemitic slurs at a Jewish man in Times Square.

Overall, ADL’s annual Audit of Antisemitic Incidents found a total of 62 reported incidents in New York in 2021 which occurred at Jewish institutions such as synagogues, Jewish community centers, and Jewish schools – an increase of 41% from 2020. One hundred and sixty-one incidents involved a swastika, and 51 incidents involved assault, the highest number ever recorded by ADL in New York.

ADL has continued to track a series of deeply concerning antisemitic incidents in 2022. One particularly troubling incident took place on April 20, 2022, when a 28-year-old man on crutches, who was carrying an Israeli flag, was allegedly assaulted at 42nd Street and Lexington Avenue in Manhattan by a pro-Palestinian activist. According to reports, the victim was punched and knocked to the ground, dragged across the sidewalk and kicked, and told, “This is what happens when you’re a terrorist.” He reportedly sustained injuries, including a concussion. The alleged assailant is being charged with a hate crime, as the attack is believed to have been carried out because of the “perceived national origin or religion” of the victim.

Underreporting continues to be a challenge in New York communities for similar reasons as in New Jersey, as described above. In 2020, only 14% of reporting agencies in New York reported one or more hate crimes to the FBI.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

We need a whole-of-government approach to address these threats. ADL strongly recommends urgent action to fight antisemitism, prevent and counter domestic violent extremism, and push hate and extremism back to the fringes of the digital world. To achieve this, ADL created the COMBAT, PROTECT and REPAIR plans. The COMBAT Plan is a comprehensive, six-part framework for elected officials and policymakers to take meaningful action to fight antisemitism. The PROTECT plan is a comprehensive, seven-part plan to mitigate the threat posed by domestic extremism and domestic terrorism while protecting civil rights and civil liberties. The REPAIR plan is a comprehensive, six-part framework for policymakers and platforms to meaningfully decrease online hate, harassment, and extremism. Together, these plans can have an immediate and deeply significant impact in challenging the rise of antisemitism, preventing and countering domestic terrorism, and decreasing online hate – all while protecting civil rights and liberties and ensuring that government overreach does not harm the same vulnerable people and communities that these extremists target. Our suggestions come under these areas:

The COMBAT Plan

- C** Condemn Antisemitism
- O** Oppose Hate and Extremism Driven by Antisemitism
- M** Make Institutions Safe from Antisemitism
- B** Block Antisemitism Online
- A** Act Against Global Antisemitism
- T** Teach About Antisemitism

Condemn Antisemitism

Public officials and civic leaders must use their bully pulpits to speak out against antisemitism and all forms of hate and extremism. Regardless of its origins—from the far left to the far right and anywhere in between—leaders must call out antisemitism and rally their communities to action.

- Condemning all forms of antisemitism, and responding to antisemitic incidents, in timely, specific, and direct ways.
- Challenging antisemitism in the United States via a whole-of-government strategy.
- Adopting the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) Working Definition of Antisemitism.

Oppose Hate and Extremism Driven by Antisemitism

Fighting hate crimes is a critical task, especially as antisemitism, anti-AAPI violence, anti-Black racism, and other forms of bigotry are at such high levels. According to the FBI's annual hate crimes report, hate crimes targeting the Jewish community make up nearly 55% of all religion-based crimes.

- Supporting hate crime laws and improving hate crime data collection and reporting.
- Adopting wide-ranging measures to combat all forms of domestic antisemitic extremism, most notably the array of policy recommendations outlined in ADL's PROTECT plan.

Make Institutions Safe from Antisemitism

Whether the attack at the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh, the Chabad in Poway, or hate against Jewish students on college campuses, there is an acute threat of antisemitic violence and harassment. The Jewish community must be protected from these threats and counter the movements that produce them.

- Protecting the physical security of Jewish community institutions.
- Safeguarding Jewish students in post-secondary institutions.

Block Antisemitism Online

Federal and state governments have an important role in reducing online hate, harassment, and extremism fueled by antisemitism. 80% of Americans agree there should be more police training

and resources to help people with online hate and harassment. And an overwhelming majority of Americans agree that laws should be strengthened to hold perpetrators of online hate accountable for their conduct (81%).

- Adopting ADL's comprehensive approach to combatting online hate, harassment, and extremism, including antisemitism, as delineated in the REPAIR plan.

Act Against Global Antisemitism

Global antisemitism is on the rise. Cultures of violence, silence, and complacency have helped antisemitism to gain new currency around the world. Without the requisite proactivity and knowledge to recognize this evil, we are at a disadvantage to stop it.

- Strengthening the Office of the U.S. Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Antisemitism.
- Amplifying intergovernmental cooperation between the U.S. and foreign governments to fight global antisemitism and specific regional manifestations.
- Countering state-sponsored antisemitism and related terrorism.
- Mobilizing against the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) campaign and other efforts to demonize, delegitimize and isolate Israel in international fora.

Teach About Antisemitism

Eliminating antisemitism and other forms of bigotry requires government and civil society leaders to promote anti-hate, anti-bias, and civics education programs. Particularly now, better understanding of the Jewish community, and robust Holocaust and antisemitism education are crucial to mitigating the hate threatening all of our communities.

- Promoting understanding of Jewish people today.
- Including antisemitism in anti-bias education and related training.

The PROTECT Plan

- P** Prioritize Preventing and Countering Domestic Terrorism
- R** Resource According to the Threat
- O** Oppose Extremists in Government Service
- T** Take Public Health and Other Domestic Terrorism Prevention Measures
- E** End the Complicity of social media in Facilitating Extremism
- C** Create an Independent Clearinghouse for Online Extremist Content
- T** Target Foreign White Supremacist Terrorist Groups for Sanctions

Prioritize Preventing and Countering Domestic Terrorism

First, we urge Congress to adopt a whole-of-government and whole-of-society approach to prevent and counter domestic terrorism.

- In mid-June 2021, the Biden-Harris Administration released the first-ever National Strategy to Counter Domestic Terrorism. The strategy is laudable, and a step in the right direction. However, many critical details were left unaddressed. Congress must press for further details into how the plan will be implemented, and the steps that will be taken to ensure protection for civil rights and civil liberties. Further, Departments and Agencies must create their own implementation plans for the Strategy.
- As Congress considers appropriations bills, resources to prevent and counter domestic terrorism are critical to mitigating the threat. ADL urges Committee Members to consider supporting significant increases for these necessary resources across the government in the Commerce, Justice, and Science; Homeland Security; Defense; State and Foreign Operations; Interior; and Labor, Health, and Human Services appropriations processes.

Resource According to the Threat

We must ensure that the authorities and resources the government uses to address violent threats are proportionate to the risk of the lethality of those threats. In other words, allocation of resources must never be politicized but rather based on transparent and objective security concerns.

- Congress must ensure that offices addressing domestic terrorist threats have the resources they need and can deploy those resources in a manner proportionate to existing threats. Those resources must be matched with transparency and oversight to hold leaders accountable.
- Congress must exercise careful oversight to ensure that no resources are expended on counterterrorism efforts targeting protected political speech or association. Investigations and other efforts to mitigate the threat should be data-driven and proportionate to the violent threat posed by violent extremist movements.

Oppose Extremists in Government Service

It is essential that we recognize the potential for harm when extremists gain positions of power, including in government, law enforcement, and the military.

- To the extent permitted by law and consistent with Constitutional protections, take steps to ensure that individuals engaged in violent extremist activity or associated with violent extremist movements, including violent white supremacist and unlawful militia movements, are deemed unsuitable for employment at the federal, state, and local levels—including in law enforcement. Appropriate steps must be taken to address any current employees, who, upon review, match these criteria.
- To the extent permitted by law and consistent with Constitutional protections, take steps to ensure that individuals engaged in violent extremist activity or associated with violent extremist movements, including violent white supremacist and unlawful militia movements, are not given security clearances or other sensitive law enforcement

credentials. Appropriate steps must be taken to address any current employees, who, upon review, match these criteria. Law enforcement agencies nationwide should explore options for preventing extremists from being among their ranks.

- The Department of Defense (DoD) released its internal extremist threat review on December 20, 2021. While the review represents significant progress, we need more information to truly determine the threat posed by extremists within the ranks. DoD should provide further detail on how it will evaluate white supremacists and related threats, as well as how commanders' ability to adjudicate extremism-related guidelines will be overseen.
- Similarly, DHS announced that it completed a review of extremism in its ranks, but the Department itself noted a lack of capacity to fully understand the threat. DHS must develop ongoing protocols for a comprehensive picture of insider threats related to domestic violent extremism.
- ADL has worked with law enforcement experts to provide tools for identifying and weeding out extremists in the recruitment process as well as within law enforcement ranks. While there is no evidence that white supremacist extremists have large numbers in our law enforcement agencies, we have seen that even a few can undermine the effectiveness and trust that is so essential.

Take Domestic Terrorism Prevention Measures

We must not wait until after someone has become an extremist or until a terrorist attack occurs to take action. Effective and promising prevention measures exist, which should be scaled.

- Congress can provide funding to civil society and academic programs that have expertise in addressing recruitment to extremist causes and radicalization, whether online or offline. By providing funding for prevention activities, including education, counseling, and off-ramping, Congress can help empower public health and civil society actors to prevent and intervene in the radicalization process and undermine extremist narratives, particularly those that spread rapidly on the internet.
- These initiatives must be accompanied by an assurance of careful oversight with civil rights and civil liberties safeguards. They must also meaningfully engage the communities that have been targeted by domestic terrorism and the civil society organizations already existing within them, and those communities which have been unfairly targeted when prior anti-terrorism authorities have been misused and/or abused. These initiatives must be transparent, responsive to community concerns, publicly demonstrate careful oversight, and ensure that they do not stigmatize communities. Further, DHS should not be the only agency working on prevention; ADL urges the Department to partner with Health and Human Services and other non-security Departments whenever possible.
- While Congress has funded a small grant program for prevention measures domestically, the program is too small to have an impact at scale. Now that the Administration has launched the Center for Prevention Programming and Partnerships within DHS, Congress should significantly scale its grant program; ADL has recommended a \$150 million annual grant level.

End the Complicity of Social Media in Facilitating Extremism

Congress must prioritize countering online extremism and ensure that perpetrators who engage in unlawful activity online can be held accountable. ADL has launched the [REPAIR Plan](#), outlined below, which offers a comprehensive framework for platforms and policymakers to take meaningful action to decrease online hate and extremism.

Create an Independent Clearinghouse for Online Extremist Content

Congress should work with the Biden-Harris Administration to create a publicly funded, independent nonprofit center to track online extremist threat information in real-time and make referrals to social media companies and law enforcement agencies when appropriate.

- This approach is needed because those empowered with law enforcement and intelligence capabilities must not be tasked with new investigative and other powers that could infringe upon civil liberties—for example, through broad internet surveillance. Scouring online sources through an independent organization will act as a buffer, but will not prevent the nonprofit center from assisting law enforcement in cases where criminal behavior is suspected. This wall of separation, modeled in part on the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC), will help streamline national security tips and resources while preserving civil liberties.

Target Foreign White Supremacist Terrorist Groups

Congress must recognize that white supremacist extremism is a major global threat of our era and mobilize with that mindset.

- To date, no white supremacist organization operating overseas has been designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization. Only one has been designated as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist (SDGT). Congress should review how these designation decisions are made, whether any additional racially or ethnically motivated extremist groups outside the United States, particularly white supremacist groups, have reached the threshold for either designation, and whether such designations would help advance U.S. national interests.
- The Department of State was required to develop a strategy to counter global white supremacist extremism and to add white supremacist terrorism to annual Country Reports on Terrorism. That State has implemented the Country Reports guidance is laudable, and State may have created the strategy. However, the strategy has not been released publicly, making it impossible to evaluate. We urge more transparency from State in this process, for Congress to seek accountability for any gaps in the strategy, and to provide resources to implement it.
- The Department of State must mobilize a multilateral effort to address the threat of white supremacy globally. Multilateral best-practice institutions, such as the Global Counterterrorism Forum, the Global Community Engagement and Resilience Fund, and the International Institute for Justice and Rule of Law, may be helpful mechanisms through which to channel some efforts. Moreover, the Global Engagement Center should be charged with undermining the propaganda of violent extremist groups—not

just designated terrorist organizations, but overseas white supremacist violent extremists as well. DHS should participate in these efforts, supporting overseas exchanges, partnerships, and best practices sharing to engage in learning from other countries and sharing U.S. best practices, where applicable.

The REPAIR Plan

- R** Reorient and Resource Government
- E** Expose Platform Recklessness
- P** Put People Over Profit
- A** Advocate for Targets of Online Hate and Harassment
- I** Interrupt Disinformation
- R** Regulate Platforms

Reorient and Resource Government

The responsibility to address online harms is fragmented across the federal and state governments, making it difficult to share information, coordinate enforcement, and establish leadership to ensure accountability. To date, the U.S. Government has not adequately invested in efforts to mitigate these problems. Without concerted action, the government continues to cede power to social media companies who shirk their responsibility to protect users.

- Government entities must fully use existing authorities to hold social media companies accountable for their complicity in furthering online harms.
- Policymakers must convene and prioritize the work of coordinating bodies like the White House Task Force to Address Online Harassment and Abuse, develop comprehensive strategies to guide their work, modernize and pass legislation to protect against 21st century hate, bolster research efforts on online harms, and appropriately reorient departments to respond to the fluid and diffuse online threat landscape. Efforts must be adequately resourced to ensure meaningful and lasting change.

Expose Platform Recklessness

Platforms say they have implemented robust protections for users, yet there is no way to independently verify these claims. Moreover, revelations from Facebook whistleblower Frances Haugen revealed that, despite Facebook's claims, its "AI systems only catch a very tiny minority of offending content and best-case scenario in the case of something like hate speech, at most they will ever get 10 to 20%." Although platforms allege that providing access to data would undermine user privacy and be too burdensome or expensive to implement, we know Big Tech is made up of billion-and trillion-dollar companies capable of improving systems, hiring additional staff, developing better products and practices, and providing genuine transparency.

- Policymakers must prioritize passing legislation that increases independent oversight and transparency of social media platforms. ADL's [Stop Hiding Hate](#) campaign advocated for

California Assembly Bill 587, which was signed into law in September 2022, to ensure platforms produce transparency reports we can read. Congress must build off of measured solutions, such as AB 587 to truly understand how platform practices impact society and its most vulnerable.

- Platforms must provide access to robust data for researchers, watchdogs, and users. Social media companies must also increase independent oversight of their platforms, including engaging in independent audits of platforms' algorithmic systems, enhanced content moderation, and improvements to user engagement features to help safeguard users. Simultaneously, policymakers should explore legislative solutions such as these to better hold platforms accountable for their wrongdoing and protect users' civil rights.

Put People Over Profit

Targeted advertising, the fundamental business model utilized by mainstream social media platforms, maximizes profits by optimizing product mechanics that will keep users engaged online. To do this, social media companies recommend, rank, and amplify content that keeps us scrolling, reacting, and sharing. The longer users spend online and the more engaged they are, the more social media companies track and analyze their activity so platforms can better predict what content to suggest and find as many opportunities as possible to serve users targeted ads. Unfortunately, as research and whistleblowers have shown, the most engaging content is often the most corrosive and divisive. This problematic content, amplified by platforms' algorithms, radicalizes users and mainstreams fringe narratives previously relegated to the underbelly of the Internet.

- Policymakers must bolster data privacy and ban surveillance advertising to disrupt harmful business models to protect users, especially children.
- Government agencies and authorities tasked with protecting consumers must boost efforts to protect platform users as tech companies continue to engage in unfair and deceptive practices.
- Platforms must implement recommendations found in ADL's [Social Pattern Library](#) and build anti-hate by design principles into their products.
- Infrastructure providers who host platforms complicit in the spread of online harms must be held accountable. Providers can no longer support and profit from platforms that are agnostic about content that incites, promotes, or glorifies violence.

Advocate for Targets of Online Hate and Harassment

Online harassment intrudes into users' lives in many ways and often hampers their ability to communicate. While many users have been affected by this activity, data demonstrates online harassment disproportionately impacts members of marginalized communities in their ability to work, socialize, learn, and express themselves online. According to ADL's latest data, 65% of marginalized groups, including women, religious minorities, people of color, LGBTQ+ people, and people with disabilities reported being harassed for an aspect of their identity. These harms are also prevalent in online gaming spaces. Findings from ADL's 2021 online gaming survey showed 5 in 6 adults ages 18-45 have experienced harassment in online multiplayer games. This cannot continue, especially in spaces designed to be pro-social.

- ADL’s [Backspace Hate](#) campaign supports legislative reform to close gaps in laws that deny victims redress for serious acts of online harassment and abuse like doxing, swatting and non-consensual distribution of intimate imagery.
- Congress must continue to modernize hate crime laws and data collection practices to capture the totality of online hate in the 21st century.
- Law enforcement agencies need enhanced training and additional resources for tracking crimes and developing prudent policies to protect targets of online hate.
- Platforms must provide sufficient support services for targets of online harassment and abuse.

Interrupt Disinformation

Violent extremists and malicious actors spread falsehoods to terrorize vulnerable communities, chill civic participation, and disrupt democracy, all while advancing their political aims, radicalizing followers, and inciting violence. Their messages become further engrained in the mainstream by algorithms optimized to amplify content that increases user engagement. Influential people, including elected and appointed officials, candidates, media pundits, and ideological influencers, spread and normalize this content further, exacerbating profound distrust in government institutions and processes, science, medicine, and education. The deadly insurrection at the United States Capitol in January 2021 is a key example of how violence can erupt when social media amplifies falsehoods.

- Policymakers and platforms must take a proactive approach to stem the flow of disinformation. Despite fact checks on online content, some studies suggest people tend to remember the original falsehood rather than its correction. This behavioral bias underscores the need for creative, forward leaning solutions. New and meaningful ways to counter disinformation should be identified, including implementing tactics that increase “friction” to slow down and mitigate the spread of harmful content.
- Policymakers must establish effective media literacy programs and share information with the public in a timely and transparent fashion to stymie potential harms from disinformation.
- Platforms must prioritize and increase resources to combat English and non-English language disinformation.
- Policymakers, especially those in party leadership, should penalize elected or appointed officials when they spread disinformation.

Regulate Platforms

Tech platforms provide the means for transmitting hateful content on a massive scale, while frequently amplifying and legitimizing this content through algorithmic promotion. Although algorithms can assist with facilitating discrimination, harassment, and increased offline harms, platforms are almost completely shielded from legal liability due to the breadth of Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act (Section 230) and the broad interpretation it has been given by the courts. These sweeping legal protections enjoyed by tech platforms are harmful and continue to

perpetuate an online ecosystem of hate.

- ADL supports careful legislative reform, but not elimination, of Section 230 to hold social media companies accountable for their role in fomenting hate and extremism that leads to violence. Section 230 reform must address social media platforms' role in amplifying content that incites violence, discriminates against users, and promotes terrorism. Reform must be focused so that it does not result in an overbroad suppression of free speech, nor unintentionally cement the monopolistic power of Big Tech. Any reform effort must learn from past mistakes and ensure that well-intentioned policy changes do not adversely impact those they are meant to protect. Thoughtful and targeted reform of Section 230 is an important and necessary component to fighting online harms and creating a more equitable Internet.

CONCLUSION

Thank you for the opportunity to testify before this august body and for calling a hearing on this urgent topic. ADL data clearly and decisively illustrate that the impact of hate is rising across the United States, and that domestic extremism, terrorism, and antisemitism will continue to pose a grave threat. It is long past time to acknowledge that these threats overwhelmingly come from right-wing extremists, especially white supremacists, and allocate our resources to address the threat accordingly. We must also address these threats holistically rather than piecemeal. This is precisely what ADL's COMBAT, PROTECT, and REPAIR plans do, applying a whole-of-government and whole-of-society approach to the fight against antisemitism, hate, and extremism both on- and offline. On behalf of ADL, we look forward to working with you as you continue to devote your attention to this critical issue.

SEP
2023



A Report by the ADL Center on Extremism

Hate in the Lone Star State: Extremism & Antisemitism in Texas



Our Mission:

To stop the defamation of the Jewish people
and to secure justice and fair treatment to all.

ABOUT

THE CENTER ON EXTREMISM

The ADL Center on Extremism is the foremost authority on extremism, terrorism and hate, both foreign and domestic. We monitor extremism across the ideological spectrum. Our staff of investigators, analysts, researchers and technical experts strategically monitors, exposes and disrupts extremist threats—on the internet and on the ground. We provide resources, expertise and educational briefings that enable law enforcement officers, public officials and community leaders, as well as internet and technology companies to identify and counter emerging threats. Learn more about COE's work and the latest in the fight against extremism by visiting adl.org/coe.

ADL (Anti-Defamation League) fights antisemitism and promotes justice for all. Join ADL to give a voice to those without one and to protect our civil rights.

Learn more: adl.org

ABOUT

ADL

ADL is the leading anti-hate organization in the world. Founded in 1913, its timeless mission is "to stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment to all." Today, ADL continues to fight all forms of antisemitism and bias, using innovation and partnerships to drive impact. A global leader in combating antisemitism, countering extremism and battling bigotry wherever and whenever it happens, ADL works to protect democracy and ensure a just and inclusive society for all.



Contents

1. Introduction	4
2. Key Statistics	5
3. Antisemitism	7
4. Notable Extremist Activity	9
. Patriot Front	9
. Anti-LGBTQ+ Extremism	10
. QAnon	12
5. Additional Extremist Activity	13
. Violence	13
. Anti-Immigrant Extremism	14
. Sovereign Citizens	15
. Oath Keepers	15
. Black Nationalist Extremists	15
. New Independent Fundamental Baptist Movement	16
6. Recommendations for Policymakers	17



Introduction

Since the start of 2021, Texas has experienced a significant amount of extremist activity. One driver of this phenomenon is Patriot Front, a white supremacist group that has **distributed propaganda** across Texas — and the rest of the U.S. — with alarming frequency, using the state as a base of operations. Two other factors are extremists who **continue to target the LGBTQ+ community** and QAnon supporters who have gathered for conferences and rallies across the state.

Texas has also seen a significant increase in **antisemitic incidents** over the last two years. It recorded the country's fifth-highest number of antisemitic incidents in 2022, at a time when ADL has tracked the highest-ever number of antisemitic incidents nationwide.

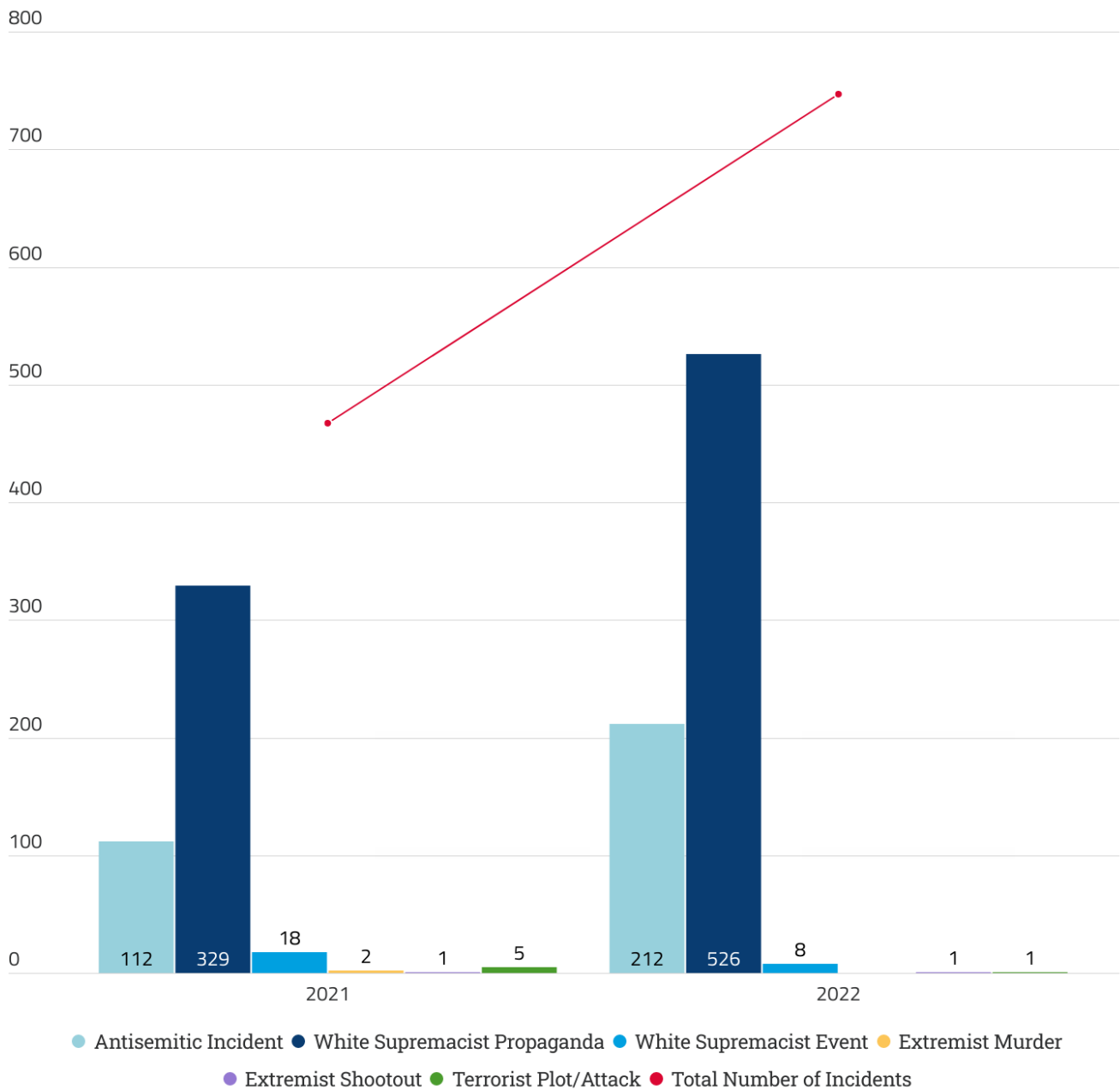
This report will explore a range of extremist groups and movements operating in Texas and highlights the key extremist and antisemitic trends and incidents in the state in 2021 and 2022. It also includes noteworthy events and incidents from the first half of 2023.

Key Statistics

- **Antisemitic Incidents:** According to the ADL's annual [Audit of Antisemitic Incidents](#), Texas has seen a dramatic rise in antisemitic incidents in recent years. In 2022, the number of incidents increased by 89% from 2021 levels, rising from 112 to 212 incidents. Since 2021, ADL has tracked a total of 365 incidents in the state.
- **Extremist Plots and Murders:** In 2021 and 2022, ADL documented two extremist murders in Texas and six terrorist plots. In 2023, a gunman who embraced [antisemitism, misogyny and white supremacy](#) opened fire in a mall parking lot in Allen, [killing eight people and wounding seven more](#) before police shot and killed him.
- **Extremist Events:** Since 2021, ADL has documented 28 extremist events in Texas, including banner drops, flash demonstrations, training events, fight nights, protests, rallies and meetings.
- **White Supremacist Propaganda:** In 2022, ADL documented 526 instances of white supremacist propaganda distributions across Texas, a 60% increase from 2021 (329). There have been 1,073 propaganda incidents since 2021. The groups responsible for the majority of the incidents were [Patriot Front](#) and the [Goyim Defense League](#) (GDL).
- **Hate Crime Statistics:** According to the [latest](#) FBI hate crimes statistics from 2021, there were 542 reported hate crimes in Texas in that year, an increase of 33% from the 406 incidents recorded in 2020. Hate and bias crime data in Texas and nationally highlights how hate crimes disproportionately impact the Black community.
- **Insurrection Statistics:** Seventy-four of the 968 individuals logged by the [George Washington University Program on Extremism](#) who have been charged in relation to the [January 6, 2021 attack](#) on the U.S. Capitol are Texas residents, the second most in the nation.
- **ADL and Princeton's Bridging Divides Initiative Threats and Harassment Dataset:** The [Threats and Harassment Dataset](#) (THD) tracks unique incidents of threats and harassment against local U.S. officials between January 1, 2020, and September 23, 2022 in three policy areas (election, education and health). Texas recorded seven incidents of threats and harassment against local officials.

Incidents in Texas by Type, 2021-2022

Data from the Center on Extremism Hate, Extremism, Antisemitism, Terrorism (H.E.A.T.) Map



Note: Some incidents are coded as multiple incident types.

Antisemitism

ADL's 2022 [Audit of Antisemitic Incidents](#) documented the highest number of antisemitic incidents since reporting began in 1979, with more than 3,697 acts of assault, vandalism and harassment nationwide, a 36% increase from 2021. Texas reported 212 antisemitic incidents in 2022, the fifth-highest number behind New York, California, New Jersey and Florida. Instances of vandalism increased by 418% (88 incidents in 2022, compared to 17 in 2021), while harassment increased by 28% (122 incidents in 2022, compared to 95 in 2021). Two antisemitic assaults occurred in Texas in 2022, up from zero in 2021.

Significant instances of antisemitism in Texas include:

- In October 2022, an individual associated with the Goyim Defense League, a small network of virulently antisemitic provocateurs, pepper-sprayed an Austin high schooler who attempted to remove the antisemitic propaganda the individual was distributing.
- In October 2022, an Israeli flag was torn from a sukkah at the University of Texas in San Antonio.
- In July 2022, an online threat was made against synagogues in Texas, leading to a disruption of Shabbat services in the San Antonio area.
- In January 2022, a Jewish student in Houston was harassed by a classmate who stated, "Your grandma should have died in the gas chambers."
- In December 2021, an individual's car was keyed with a swastika and hateful slurs in Austin.
- In November 2021, a rock was thrown through the window of an Austin home displaying a menorah.
- In October 2021, Franklin Barrett Sechriest allegedly committed an arson at an Austin synagogue, Congregation Beth Israel, that caused \$25,000 in damage. Authorities say Sechriest had stickers with white supremacist propaganda and symbols in his possession, as well as journals containing racist and antisemitic writings.
- In April 2021, a swastika, SS lightning bolts and a message that read "Happy Birthday Hitler" were found spray-painted on the side of a Hurst shopping center



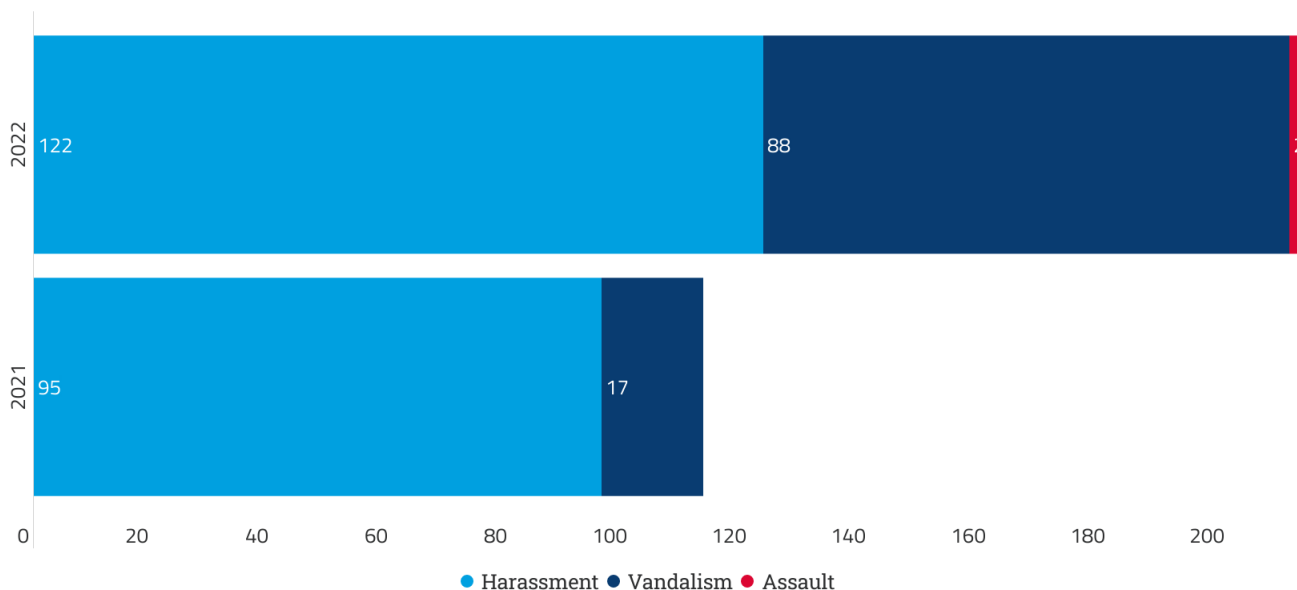
Members of the white supremacist group Patriot Front marched in Austin on July 8, 2023. (Telegram)

The nation's attention was drawn to [Colleyville](#) on January 15, 2022, when British citizen Malik Faisal Akram, who traveled to the United States two weeks prior, took four people hostage at the Congregation Beth Israel synagogue, claiming to have weapons and bombs. He subsequently demanded that suspected Al Qaeda courier [Aafia Siddiqui](#) be released from the nearby federal prison where she was being held. After a day-long ordeal, the hostages escaped the building while Akram was killed by law enforcement. Illustrating the perniciousness of antisemitism, Akram apparently chose the location because he believed "America only cares about Jewish lives."

In addition, in October 2021, approximately 24 individuals associated with the [Goyim Defense League](#) (GDL) held a "Name the Nose" tour in Texas, making appearances in Austin, Houston, San Antonio, Selma, Tyler and Universal City. During this tour, the group harassed individuals on the streets and highways, protested outside Jewish institutions, distributed antisemitic propaganda and drove around in a van shouting profanity-laced slurs from the windows. One of GDL's key organizers, Florida resident Dominic Di Giorgio, was arrested by police in Tyler for possession of a license plate flipper, which allows a car's owner to rotate or "flip" between two license plates.

Antisemitic Incidents in Texas by Type, 2021-2022

Data from the Center on Extremism Hate, Extremism, Antisemitism, Terrorism (H.E.A.T.) Map



Notable Extremist Activity

Texas is home to Patriot Front, the most prolific spreader of white supremacist content nationwide

According to ADL Center on Extremism data, Texas had 855 incidents of white supremacist propaganda between 2021 and 2022, the highest total number in the United States. The overwhelming majority of propaganda content was produced by **Patriot Front**, a white supremacist group responsible for at least 604 instances, or 71%, of all white supremacist propaganda incidents in Texas during that period. This trend has continued through June 2023 as Patriot Front is believed to be responsible for at least 120 instances, or 55%, of white supremacist propaganda in the state.

Founded in 2018, Patriot Front is a Texas-based white supremacist group that fuses extreme nationalism with a neo-fascist ideology. Though the group is careful with its public-facing image and claims loyalty to America as a nation, the group ultimately seeks to form a new state that advocates for the “descendants of its creators,” namely, white men.

The group frequently uses red, white and blue colors in its propaganda and has commonly avoided using traditional white supremacist language and symbols in its messaging, instead using ambiguous phrasing like “For the Nation Against the State,” “Reclaim America” and “America First.” However, in December 2022, they began reincorporating antisemitic and white supremacist phrases into their propaganda, and in the first six months of 2023, ADL found that Patriot Front distributed antisemitic propaganda six times in Texas that read: “No Zionists in government, we serve one Nation.”



Members of the white supremacist group Patriot Front marched in Austin on July 8, 2023. (Telegram)

Case 4:23-cv-01002-O Document 22-1 Filed 12/15/23 Page 69 of 91 PageID 264
 Patriot Front remains active in their home state, where the group's founder, Thomas Rousseau, continues to reside. On July 8, 2023, an estimated 100 masked group members recognized Independence Day by holding a flash demonstration in Austin while carrying riot shields, a banner reading "Reclaim America" and upside-down American flags. In addition, the group frequently distributes banners, fliers, posters and stickers in communities across Texas. For example, on April 10, 2022, approximately ten individuals associated with Patriot Front, including Rousseau, handed out white supremacist fliers in Fort Worth.

Though based in Texas, Patriot Front has a nationwide footprint with members around the country. As such, their activities occur throughout the U.S., and the group was responsible for the vast majority — 80% — of nationwide propaganda distributions in 2022, a trend replicated every year since 2019. In addition, the group has held rallies in major American cities, including Washington, D.C., Boston, Philadelphia and Indianapolis. These events are frequently the largest public white supremacist gatherings in the country. On June 11, 2022, police arrested 31 members of Patriot Front — including Rousseau and six other Texans — after they stopped a U-Haul truck near a "Pride in the Park" event in Idaho and found the extremists inside the truck equipped with riot shields. Every present Patriot Front member was charged with criminal conspiracy to riot.

Extremists target the LGBTQ+ community, fueled by false narratives and baseless accusations

Similar to the rest of the nation, Texas has experienced a surge of extremist activity surrounding LGBTQ+ issues, including many motivated by false narratives such as the baseless, dangerous **groomer narrative**. In total, ADL tracked 22 anti-LGBTQ+ incidents in 2022 across Texas; there were ten incidents through the first five months of 2023 alone. While some of these actions solely involved extremists, others involved more mainstream anti-LGBTQ+ entities, creating opportunities for extremists to expose new audiences to other forms of hate and potentially radicalize individuals to join their cause.

Several white supremacist groups have engaged in extensive anti-LGBTQ+ activity across Texas:

- The white supremacist **Aryan Freedom Network** (AFN) demonstrated in Texas five times in 2022, with four of those demonstrations targeting the LGBTQ+ community. For example, in September 2022, approximately seven individuals associated with AFN gathered near a restaurant hosting a drag brunch in Pflugerville. Participants meshed anti-LGBTQ+ beliefs with their white supremacist worldview, displaying Nazi flags and signs that read, "Transvestite is not a gender; it is a mental disorder" and "It's okay to be white."
- Members of the much smaller American National Socialist Party (ANSP) have also targeted the LGBTQ+ community with their protests. In May 2022, ANSP and AFN held an "anti-grooming" protest in Austin. According to AFN's leader, the groups were there to protest "the grooming of children at an Austin, TX school."
- The Goyim Defense League was responsible for many of the anti-LGBTQ+ incidents tracked by ADL in 2022, and thus far in 2023, as they spread propaganda accusing Jews of being behind "Disney child grooming." These fliers illustrate how various forms of hatred and bigotry can be used to reinforce each other.

- Texas white supremacists have also latched on to anti-LGBTQ+ rallies organized by anti-LGBTQ+ groups, giving them a larger platform to spread their hateful ideologies. In September 2022, Kelly Neidert, an anti-LGBTQ+ activist and the director of the anti-LGBTQ+ group Protect Texas Kids, organized a protest outside of a drag queen bingo event at a church in Katy that was attended by several individuals variously affiliated with AFN, ANSP, Patriot Front and the [14 First Foundation](#). Though Neidert has stated [previously](#) that neo-Nazis are not invited to events organized by Protect Texas Kids, they do not appear to be barred from attending, and white supremacists have shared Protect Texas Kids' fliers in their telegram channels ahead of events

White supremacists' attendance at these events increases the potential for violence. For example, in December 2022, AFN joined an anti-LGBTQ+ demonstration organized by Protect Texas Kids in Grand Prairie. Protestors waved AFN flags, held signs advertising the AFN website and screamed [racist](#) and [homophobic](#) slurs at passersby. A [video](#) captured during the December 2022 event shows a masked individual affiliated with AFN grabbing a concealed handgun and threatening counter-protesters.

Unfortunately, this hateful activity is not limited to events. Patriot Front members have targeted and stolen pro-LGBTQ+ signs and flags, and have posted pictures and videos on social media bragging about their "activism." In one such video, members are shown burning transgender pride flags as one member states, "For those who destroy our nation, we will destroy your symbols and all that you worship, to think that we will lay down and perish, you are greatly mistaken. Burn 'em."

The violent, far-right [Proud Boys](#) have also attended numerous anti-LGBTQ+ events in Texas:

- On December 17, 2022, a group of Proud Boys joined an anti-LGBTQ+ protest at a holiday drag show in Grand Prairie that also included Protect Texas Kids, AFN, Patriot Front and American Nationalist Initiative, a small white supremacist group.
- On June 25, 2022, [video footage](#) showed a group of armed Proud Boys allegedly attacking an activist outside of an LGBTQ+ Pride family storytime event at the Roy and Helen Hall Memorial Library in McKinney. According to attendees, the Proud Boys called them "groomers," "pedophiles" and "whores." Parents and activists had to form a wall to block them from entering and disrupting the event.
- On June 12, 2022, approximately seven Proud Boys joined a protest organized by Protect Texas Kids at a Disney Drag Brunch event in Arlington. Attendees claimed the purpose of the protest was "protecting kids" from the LGBTQ+ community, despite the event enforcing a minimum age requirement of 21. Video footage from the protest shows a Proud Boys member verbally confronting an individual, yelling anti-LGBTQ+ slurs and calling him a pedophile.
- On May 28, 2022, approximately 20 Proud Boys gathered as counter-protesters outside of an NRA convention at the George R. Brown Convention Center in Houston, [allegedly shouting anti-LGBTQ+ slurs](#) at a group protesting the convention after the school shooting in Uvalde four days earlier.

Similarly, the Texas Defense Force Security (TXDF), a security company licensed by the Texas Department of Public Safety and owned by militia-aligned Robert Beverly, protested a New Braunfels drag show in May 2023. Beverly is the former president of This is Texas Freedom Force (TITFF), a far-right [militia](#) group that protested drag shows in the state, including a December 2022 holiday drag show in San Antonio.

Over the last few years, Texas has been at the heart of several notable **QAnon** events and incidents. The state has been home to multiple QAnon-themed conferences, highlighting the mainstreaming of QAnon and other conspiracies among conservative communities and the GOP. The most notable was “**For God & Country: Patriot Roundup**,” which took place on Memorial Day weekend 2021. Organized by **John Sabal**, known online as “QAnon John” and “The Patriot Voice,” the event featured then-Congressman Louie Gohmert (R-TX), then-Texas GOP chair Allen West, Lt. General Michael Flynn, attorney and conspiracy theorist Sidney Powell and various QAnon influencers. During the event, Michael Flynn seemingly **endorsed** a Myanmar-style coup in the U.S., although he has since backtracked on his remarks.

However, QAnon activity in Texas is not limited to conferences; on November 2, 2021, hundreds of QAnon supporters **descended upon** Dallas’s Dealey Plaza to await the return of John F. Kennedy, Jr. despite his death in a 1999 plane crash. The gathering came after **Michael Protzman**, a fringe conspiracist who was known online as “Negative48,” predicted that JFK Jr. and his parents, former President John F. Kennedy (who was assassinated in 1963) and former First Lady Jackie Kennedy (who died from non-Hodgkin’s lymphoma in 1994), would reveal themselves to the world and usher in the reinstatement of Donald Trump as president, with JFK, Jr. as his new vice president. The Kennedys, of course, never showed. Protzman passed away in July 2023; however, before his death, he and a dwindling group of followers (who call themselves the “Protzmanians”) crisscrossed the U.S., attending **Trump rallies** and other events as Protzman continued to issue failed “predictions” about appearances of the Kennedys and various celebrities, such as Michael Jackson and Princess Diana.



Michael Protzman’s group gathers for a parade in Dallas on Dec. 4, 2021. (Telegram)

In February 2022, the National Butterfly Center, located in Mission, **closed temporarily** following a slew of harassment and threats from right-wing conspiracists, who have long accused the center, which is situated along the U.S.-Mexico border, of being a hub for human trafficking and drug smuggling. The center had closed the weekend prior **due to concerns** that attendees at a nearby right-wing conference, “We Stand America,” would stop by during a “caravan to the border.” The ADL Center On Extremism found that at least two “We Stand America” attendees visited the National Butterfly Center during the conference. In a video uploaded to Rumble, Christie Hutcherson and then-South Carolina Congressional candidate Lynz Piper-Loomis, visited the center, asking aloud, “Why are you more concerned about butterflies than you are about the little children who are being trafficked right behind this center? They use the butterfly land to come up through and bring these children who are trafficked and these women who are trafficked.”

The month prior, **Kimberly Lowe**, a Congressional candidate from Virginia, showed up at the center with a woman claiming to be a Secret Service agent, demanding access to the property so that they could see where migrants were crossing.

Additional Extremist Activity

Violence

On May 6, 2023, Mauricio Garcia entered the Allen Premium Outlets shopping mall in Allen and opened fire with an AR-15, killing nine people and injuring seven others before he was killed by law enforcement. **Research** by the ADL Center on Extremism showed that Garcia was obsessed with violence and subscribed to a range of extremist ideologies, including antisemitism, violent misogyny and white supremacy.

Unfortunately, incidents like these have become all too common in Texas over the last two years. Between 2021 and 2022, the state experienced eight extremist plots and murders, the most in the nation. These include:

- On October 31, 2021, Franklin Barrett Sechriest committed arson at an Austin synagogue that caused \$25,000 in damage. According to officials, Sechriest had stickers with white supremacist propaganda and symbols in his possession, as well as journals containing antisemitic and racist writings. Sechriest **pleaded** guilty to federal charges in April 2023.
- On October 24, 2021, Jason Heyer Neumann, a self-proclaimed **Aryan Circle** member, was arrested for the murder of Huntington resident William Wade Pierce. Police have not yet released information about a motive.
- On September 29, 2021, Ryan Faircloth threw a Molotov cocktail at the Democratic Party headquarters for Travis County while wearing a face mask and an American flag bandana. The explosive did not fully ignite but did start a small fire. Faircloth left a note threatening the Democratic Party. Following his arrest, he reportedly blamed the Democratic Party office for “a lot of the issues that he saw as problems with the country.” He pleaded guilty and was **sentenced** to six years in prison.

Texas is a Fertile Ground for Anti-Immigrant Extremism

In recent years, Texas has been targeted by extremists pushing an anti-immigrant agenda. A variety of extremists in the state — including border vigilantes, militia groups, white supremacists and conspiracy theorists — have promoted divisive, dangerous anti-immigrant rhetoric that demonizes and dehumanizes immigrants.

Border vigilante groups are a part of the broader anti-immigrant extremist movement that seeks an end to all immigration to the United States or to limit immigration to the same number of people who leave the U.S. each year. As their name suggests, border vigilantes specialize in conducting armed, sometimes paramilitary patrols along the U.S.-Mexico border to chase and detain migrants, often claiming that they are defending America from drug cartels and human traffickers. Arizona has been the hub for border vigilante groups for many years, but Texas has recently experienced considerable activity. Border vigilantes in the Lone Star State have developed ties to other extremist movements, from militia groups to MAGA extremists, and drew some support from conservatives with anti-immigrant sentiments.

The primary driver of border vigilante activity in Texas is Patriots for America (PFA). PFA was formed by Samuel Hall in 2015 to protect participants at right-wing events and protests; however, in 2021, the group shifted its efforts to “protecting” the Texas-Mexico border, using armed volunteers from around the country to conduct armed vigilante patrols along the border. Hall has embraced the QAnon-related conspiracy theory that migrants are accomplices in child sex trafficking. The group garnered attention in December 2021 when PFA illegally detained three migrants during a “border mission;” Hall posted a video of members holding down and questioning the captured migrants until a local sheriff’s deputy arrived.

White supremacists in Texas have also engaged in organized anti-immigrant activity. In addition to targeting Jewish people, minorities and the LGBTQ+ community, the [Aryan Freedom Network](#) has also targeted immigrants. On June 3, 2023, approximately a dozen AFN members demonstrated in Centerville to protest the May 2022 murder of a Centerville family by an escaped prison inmate, whom AFN claimed to be a Mexican cartel hitman. A few days later, on June 6, the group announced a new campaign to stop purported violence carried out by immigrants against white families, farmers and ranchers. The group claimed it would stage a series of protests across Texas, demanding the closure of the southern border and the deportation of undocumented immigrants.

Similarly, during Patriot Front’s July 8, 2023 flash demonstration, the group’s leader, Thomas Rousseau, gave a short speech emphasizing the group’s anti-immigrant stance, saying: “The liberties our people fought so long to preserve are now given freely to foreigners who mock our identity and then claim that they too are American.”

Texas has also attracted extremists from other states. In June 2023, two militia members from Tennessee and Missouri were [arrested](#) on charges connected to a plot to go “hunting” for migrants crossing the Texas-Mexico border. They also allegedly planned to target U.S. Customs and Border Patrol personnel, whom the extremists claimed were guilty of treason for allowing migrants to cross the border.

Sovereign Citizens

Texas is home to two of the most popular **sovereign citizen** gurus in the U.S. today, **David Straight** and his wife, Bonnie Allen Thomas. The couple has hosted seminars across the U.S., teaching “sovereignty” with a QAnon bent, urging followers to become “**American State Nationals**” before Trump is reinstated as president. They were previously affiliated with the sovereign citizen group “Republic of Texas,” serving as “Commander of the Texian [sic] Rangers” and “Consul General,” respectively, until they had a **falling out** in early 2023.

Straight and Thomas both ran into **legal trouble** in 2023. On April 10, Bonnie Thomas was arrested on an outstanding warrant for a weapons charge from 2015; she was sentenced to five years in prison in May. David Straight was also arrested that same day in a separate incident, when he was pulled over for driving without a valid license or license plates, but was released on bond.

Their arrests have had little impact on their activity, with David Straight continuing to host seminars despite his wife’s incarceration. In May 2023, he joined fellow sovereign citizen guru **Bobby Lawrence** for a three-day conference called “1776 Live” in Grapevine, their largest event to date. The conference, which drew several hundred people, featured various workshops led by Lawrence and other affiliates on topics such as land patents, private member associations, and trusts. Bonnie Thomas has also reportedly been “educating” other incarcerated women about becoming American State Nationals while in prison, assisting them with paperwork and connecting them with Straight.

Oath Keepers

According to a published database, 3,301 Texas residents — the most in the nation — have paid membership dues to the **Oath Keepers** since the group’s founding in 2009. A Center on Extremism **analysis** of this information published in September 2022 found that this list included eight individuals holding or running for public office as of August 2022, 33 individuals believed to be active members of law enforcement, ten believed to be active members of the military and seven believed to currently be first responders.

Black Nationalist Extremists

Texas is home to a wide range of Black nationalist groups and individuals, including:

- The **New Black Panther Party for Self Defense** (NBPP) is the country’s largest organized Black militant group, and its ideology blends aspects of Black nationalism, Pan-Africanism, antisemitism and anti-white bigotry. The group is active in Texas, where activities include holding armed demonstrations, leading trainings and organizing community events.
- The **Nation of Islam** (NOI), a notoriously antisemitic Black nationalist organization led at the national level by **Louis Farrakhan**, operates multiple local chapters in Texas; larger chapters are recognized as numbered Muhammad Mosques, while smaller chapters constitute study groups. Muhammad Mosque No. 45 in Houston serves as the NOI’s Southwest Regional Headquarters and is led by **Abdul Haleem (aka Robert) Muhammad**, who has promoted antisemitism on social media, blamed Jews for the coronavirus pandemic, and referred to Jews as “wicked,” “fake” and the “Synagogue of Satan.”

- The **Black Hebrew Israelite (BHI) movement** is a fringe religious movement that rejects widely accepted definitions of Judaism and asserts that people of color are the true children of Israel; the movement includes both **extremist** and non-extremist sects. Prominent extremist BHI groups that have an active presence in Texas include the New York-based **Israel United in Christ** (IUIIC), the Pennsylvania-based **Israelite School of Universal Practical Knowledge** (ISUPK) and the California-based **Sicarii Hebrew Israelites** (aka Exodus 1715).

New Independent Fundamental Baptist Movement



Pastor Jonathan Shelley preaches at Stedfast Baptist Church in April 2023. (Rumble)

The **New Independent Fundamental Baptist (New IFB) movement** is a loose network of independent churches in the U.S. connected by their belief in certain religious doctrines and a shared brand of deeply anti-LGBTQ+, antisemitic and other bigoted teachings. New IFB-affiliated churches in Texas include Stedfast Baptist Church in Cedar Hill and Pure Words Baptist Church in Houston. Pastor **Jonathan Shelley**, Brother Dillon Awes, Brother Duncan Urbanek and other local New IFB leaders have an extensive history of expressing violent extremist rhetoric, such as calling for LGBTQ+ people to be stoned to death or “shot in the back of the head” by the government. In 2022, local New IFB leaders spoke at city council meetings in Arlington and Watauga, falsely labeling the LGBTQ+ community as “a bunch of predators” and stating that the government should treat homosexuality as a crime “worthy of capital punishment.”



Brother Dillon Awes preaches at Stedfast Baptist Church in July 2021. (Rumble)

Recommendations for Policymakers

ADL advocates for a range of policies and activities that can help address antisemitism, hate and extremism while preserving civil liberties. ADL's [PROTECT Plan](#) outlines categories of policies to address domestic violent extremism, our [COMBAT Plan](#) outlines categories of policies to combat antisemitism and our [REPAIR Plan](#) outlines categories of policies to facilitate transparency and accountability in the technology sector. Beyond those frameworks, ADL recommends that Texas policymakers take on the following initiatives.

1. Convene Cross-Sector Stakeholders to Address Hate-Fueled Violence

In 2021, Governor Abbott was instrumental in signing HB 3257, which created the Texas Holocaust, Genocide, and Antisemitism Advisory Commission. Just as it was necessary to better assess how to improve Holocaust education to better protect against future harm, so too is it necessary to study hate-fueled violence and how Texas can reduce the alarming statistics and incidents contained in this report. To that end, we urge Governor Abbott to convene a United We Stand Summit for Texas. In September of last year, following calls from ADL and coalition partners, the White House held the first United We Stand Summit, bringing together a cross-section of national leaders representing communities at risk of hate-fueled violence, civil rights leaders and experts in addressing hate and extremism. Texas should follow up on this type of effort by holding a Texas-specific Summit to align a cross-section of statewide stakeholders.

2. Prevent and Counter Domestic Terrorism

State of Texas officials should consult ADL's [PROTECT Plan](#) — our comprehensive plan to address domestic violent extremism while preserving civil liberties. Some adaptations of these concepts for Texas could include:

- Create a Strategy to Address Domestic Violent Extremism through a Violent Extremism Commission:** It is difficult to pursue a whole-of-government approach without a comprehensive strategy. At the federal level, the Biden Administration released the National Strategy to Counter Domestic Terrorism in June 2021. Texas could create a State Strategy to Counter Hate-Motivated Terrorism to frame statewide efforts. At the state level, Maryland created a commission to study the state's efforts in addressing domestic extremism in partnership with state government agencies and diverse communities. Texas can also create a similar commission to assess and create transparency mechanisms for how it sees the threat, such as an annual assessment like that shared by [the State of New Jersey](#). This transparency could inform the public and policymakers alike of the gaps that exist in current state law.
- Create a Terrorism Prevention Strategy and Grant Program:** Texas should create a comprehensive strategy and a new state grant program. The National Governors' Association — with ADL's support — released a [roadmap](#) and [toolkit](#) for creating terrorism prevention programs at the state level, mirroring the public health-style programming supported by the DHS Center for Prevention Programs and Partnerships. The DHS program has provided grants to programs that focus on terrorism prevention in Texas — including the Texas Department of Public Safety — to develop curriculum and training on addressing domestic terrorism. These types of projects make Texas a top state for terrorism prevention capabilities: the State should build on that success by developing a statewide strategy and state grant program for these types of initiatives.

- **Continue funding to supplement the Nonprofit Security Grant Program:** In the 2023 legislative session, the Texas Legislature took an important first step in helping to protect houses of worship from extremists by supplementing the federal Nonprofit Security Grant Program with \$2 million in state funding. The Nonprofit Security Grant Program provides funding support for target hardening and other physical security enhancements and activities to nonprofit organizations that are at high risk of terrorist attacks. Texas should continue to supplement the existing federal program and increase funding to meet the needs of the community in the next legislative session.
- **Introduce Legislation to Create Accountable Offices to Address the Challenge:** At the federal level, the U.S. House of Representatives passed the Domestic Terrorism Prevention Act (H.R. 350) in the 117th Congress to: (1) create offices to specialize in domestic terrorism issues at DHS, FBI and the Department of Justice; (2) require those offices to release biannual reports and for resources to be used proportionately to the threats identified in the reporting; (3) provide training on domestic violent extremism; (4) explore the connection between hate crimes and terrorism through analysis and grants; and (5) consider white supremacist infiltration of law enforcement agencies. Texas should consider establishing similar offices to specialize in the threat of domestic terrorism – which could be housed in Texas’ Department of Public Safety, Intelligence and Counterterrorism Division and the Texas Division of Emergency Services. These offices would allow for an increased understanding of the hate crimes nexus of domestic violent extremism and options for law enforcement insider threat vetting. While some of these measures can be accomplished through executive action, the State Legislature should consider codifying these measures into law

3. Hold Social Media Platforms Accountable and Enhance Access to Justice for Targets of Hate

Social media platforms have created an unprecedented opportunity for individuals around the world to build communities and connect with one another; however, they have also created an avenue for the amplification and spread of rampant hate, harassment, and extremism. The ADL Center for Technology and Society’s [2023 Online Hate and Harassment Report](#) and [Support for Targets of Online Hate Report Card](#) demonstrate that although identity-based hate and harassment are at record highs, social media platforms are not doing enough to keep their users safe. It is imperative that social media platforms implement anti-hate policies and adopt a victim-centered approach to supporting targets of online hate. ADL is a strong proponent of transparency by social media platforms, so that users can understand that the processes and business decisions directly impact their lives. Similarly, we recommend the creation of a task force to conduct research and develop best practices for reducing hate on social media platforms in Texas.

In addition to urging platform accountability and transparency, we recommend that Texas work to enhance justice for victims of severe forms of harassment, such as doxing. ADL champions recent strides that states like Nevada and Illinois have taken in creating a civil right of action for doxing victims and encourages Texas to adopt similar legislation to protect doxing victims in the state.

4. Strengthen Texas's Response to Hate Crimes

Comprehensive approaches to addressing hate crimes are critical to fighting antisemitism, hate and extremism. 2023 marks the somber 25-year anniversary of the tragic murder of James Byrd Jr. in Jasper, Texas. The race-based killing of Byrd Jr. is a stark reminder of how a crime that is motivated by discriminatory animus impacts both the victim and the victim's community at large. In 2009, President Obama signed the Matthews Shepard and James Byrd Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act into law. As we reflect on the past 25 years, we must also examine how hate crime laws are written, enforced and reported in Texas Governor Abbott and state legislators should consider approaches to:

- **Explore innovative ways to address hate and extremism:** ADL encourages Texas to follow other states' efforts and create a [Commission on the State of Hate](#) to gather information and assess new options for addressing hate in Texas. In order to be successful, any potential commission would need strong support from state officials and significant input and participation from the communities that have been historically disproportionately targeted by hate crimes, and the commission's findings should be carefully considered.
- **Mandate that law enforcement agencies report hate crimes data to the FBI:** Law enforcement agencies in Texas should be required to report hate crimes data to the FBI pursuant to the data collection process under the federal Hate Crime Statistics Act. Absent comprehensive and inclusive data, policymakers will lack the critical information that is needed to address these concerning trends.
- **Require hate crimes training for law enforcement:** Texas should require training for law enforcement on identifying, investigating, responding to and reporting hate crimes. Although Texas currently has a statute requiring training for prosecuting attorneys on hate crimes, it does not have a training requirement for police, who are typically the state's first responders when a hate crime occurs.
- **Strengthen hate crimes laws:** Legislators should consider opportunities to strengthen Texas's hate crime statute (Tex. Code Crim. Proc., Art. 42.014) to ensure that it is as comprehensive as possible, including by: (1) adding ethnicity and gender identity to the list of protected identity characteristics and removing the incorrect and exclusive terminology of 'sexual preference,' (2) ensuring that the statute covers 'mixed motive' hate crimes and (3) ensuring that the statute, like many other states' hate crime laws, explicitly covers so-called 'mistaken identity' hate crimes (by adding "actual or perceived" language).
- **Promote whole-of-society approaches to hate crime reduction:** Whole-of-society approaches that prioritize the voices and needs of marginalized communities disproportionately targeted by hate crimes are necessary in order to effectively address hate crimes. Victim-centered solutions – including a) support services and financial support for hate crime victims and the community organizations that directly serve them, b) alternative mechanisms for victims to report hate crimes that take into account the significant barriers that communities often face to reporting to and interacting with police and c) restorative justice approaches such as education and community service, when welcomed by the impacted community – should be strongly considered. In addition, although hate crimes laws are a critically important tool to respond to hate crimes when they occur, it is of course preferable to prevent hate crimes in the first place. Approaches should include anti-bias education for young people.

5. Protect Civil Rights

Protecting the civil rights of all people in Texas, especially members of marginalized communities, is crucial for countering discrimination and bias. By way of example, ADL has long supported measures that would extend nondiscrimination protections to LGBTQ+ people in employment, housing and public accommodations; measures that counter antisemitism; measures that would remove discriminatory barriers that prevent equitable access to the ballot; measures that address racial discrimination and injustice; and measures that help protect the safety, dignity and well-being of immigrants and refugees. In the 2023 legislative session, various measures were introduced in order to create protections for marginalized communities. For example, HB 256 would have prohibited discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity in employment, public accommodations, housing and state contractors. HB 725 would have updated Texas hate crimes laws to add gender identity or expression. Texas should adopt similar meaningful legal protections for marginalized communities in the next legislative session in order to protect the civil rights of all Texans and combat hate and extremism.



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Join the Fight Against Antisemitism

1. SPEAK UP

Report an incident. If you have experienced or witnessed an incident of antisemitism, please [contact ADL](#). Together, we can work toward making our communities, country and world a safer place for all.

2. SHARE FACTS

Learn about antisemitism. Explore [Antisemitism Uncovered: A Guide to Old Myths in a New Era](#) for historical, fact-based descriptions of antisemitic myths, contemporary examples and calls-to-action for addressing this hate.

3. SHOW STRENGTH

Sign the [Pledge to Fight Antisemitism](#). Sign online or text Audit to 72572 and commit to being an ally of the Jewish community, publicly condemning acts of antisemitism, advocating for policy solutions and encourage your elected officials to do the same.

Visit [adl.org](#) to sign up for our email newsletters to stay informed about ADL's work in your community, across the U.S. and around the world and how ADL is responding.

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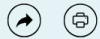
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BACKGROUND

Blood Libel: A False, Incendiary Claim Against Jews



Published: 09.01.2016

Antisemitism Globally • Israel

The “blood libel” refers to a centuries-old false allegation that Jews murder Christians – especially Christian children – to use their blood for ritual purposes, such as an ingredient in the baking of Passover matzah (unleavened bread). It is also sometimes called the “ritual murder charge.” The blood libel dates back to the Middle Ages and has persisted despite Jewish denials and official repudiations by the Catholic Church and many secular authorities. Blood libels have frequently led to mob violence and pogroms, and have occasionally led to the decimation of entire Jewish communities.

The blood libel is particularly appalling in light of the fact that Jews follow the Hebrew Bible’s law to not consume any blood, which is found in the book of Leviticus. In order for an animal to be considered kosher, all its blood must have been drained and discarded.

ORIGINS OF THE BLOOD LIBEL

The first ritual murder charge took place in Norwich, England, in the twelfth century. A boy named William was found dead in the woods outside of town, and a monk, Thomas of Monmouth, accused local Jews of torturing him and murdering him in mockery of the crucifixion of Jesus. Although many townspeople did not believe this claim, a cult venerating the boy eventually sprang up. At this time the myth began to circulate that each year, Jewish leaders around the world met to choose a country and a town from which a Christian would be apprehended and murdered.

The blood libel spread throughout the Christian world in the Middle Ages. When a Christian child went missing, it was not uncommon for local Jews to be blamed. Even when there was no evidence that any Jew had anything to do with the missing child, Jews were tortured until they confessed to heinous crimes. Some Christians believed that the four cups of wine that Jews drink at the Passover Seder celebrations were actually blood, or that Jews mixed blood into *hamantaschen*, sweet pastries eaten on the Jewish holiday of Purim. Others claimed that Jews used Christian blood as a medicine or even as an aphrodisiac. Scholars have documented about 100 blood libels that took place from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries. Many of them resulted in massacres of Jews.

THE BLOOD LIBEL IN MODERN TIMES

The blood libel persisted into modern times. In 1840, members of the Damascus Jewish community were charged with kidnapping and killing a Christian priest who had disappeared. Several notable Jews from Damascus were tortured to extract confessions, and an angry mob destroyed a synagogue and its Torah scrolls. Jews were massacred repeatedly in the Muslim world, partly as a result of this libel, which had been imported from Christian society.

Blood libels continued even into the twentieth century as well. In 1913 a Ukrainian Jew named Menahem Mendel Beilis was charged with ritually killing a Christian child whose body was discovered near a local brick factory in Kiev. During a sensational trial, numerous respected Russian intellectuals and scholars testified that Jews attacked Christians and used their blood in obscene rituals. Ultimately Beilis was acquitted of the charges, but not before horrific anti-Semitic claims were repeated and broadcast throughout Russia.

A blood libel even occurred in Massena, New York, in 1928. When a four-year-old girl went missing from her home, a rumor spread that local Jews had kidnapped and killed her. Crowds gathered outside Massena's police station, where the town's rabbi had been summoned. A state trooper questioned the rabbi, and asked him whether Jews offered human sacrifices or used blood in rituals. The girl was eventually found alive and unharmed.



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Page 1
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Oct 06, 2021 at 5:46 AM EDT

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By [Anders Anglesey](#)
U.S. News Reporter

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[PayPal](#) has canceled its services for Patriot Voice ahead of the [QAnon](#)-linked group's [upcoming convention in Las Vegas](#).

The company notified the group's leader, John Sabal (aka QAnon John) that Patriot Voice's website would no longer be able to use its services to process ticket payments for the QAnon convention scheduled for late October.

Sabal shared a grab of the cancellation message with his 69,000 Telegram followers on Tuesday.

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PayPal later confirmed to *Newsweek* that it has closed the Patriot Voice's account.

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The PayPal message Sabal posted read: "We have recently reviewed your usage of PayPal's services, as reflected in our records.

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"Due to the nature of your activities, we have chosen to discontinue service to you in accordance with PayPal's user agreement. As a result, we have placed limitations on your account."

PayPal then demanded all references to it, including its logo and shopping cart icon, were removed from the Patriot Voice website.

On Monday night, Ron Watkins, who some have [accused of being behind QAnon](#), posted to Telegram a video in which he appeared alongside [Sabal and his partner, Amy](#).

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Watkins, who [denies being behind the source of the conspiracy theory](#), is billed among the speakers at the upcoming Patriot Voice event.

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Writing under PayPal's message, Sabal said: "Wanna know what digital war looks like? Not five minutes

Page 3
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after [Watkins] appeared on a show with us, and did a personal endorsement on his channel. PayPal canceled the Patriot Voice. This is what we are up against."

Sabal also said Venmo, a mobile payment service owned by PayPal, had also discontinued its services on the Patriot Voice website.

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Newsweek has contacted Venmo and the Patriot Voice for comment.

Action Against QAnon

PayPal is one of several firms that has taken action against QAnon accounts and in July partnered with the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) to fight extremism in the financial industry.

In September, MediaMatters found several QAnon accounts were still able to use PayPal to make money, going against the recent partnership between it and the ADL.

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Trump-Backed GOP Candidate Set to Attend QAnon Event

Patriot Voice is an upcoming QAnon-related event that will feature speakers linked to the conspiracy.

[At least five Republican politicians are also listed as "special guests."](#)

QAnon is a false conspiracy theory that a satanic group of global elites is running a massive child-sex trafficking ring and that former President [Donald Trump](#) would expose high-profile figures as being members of the ring.

Since the January 6 riot at the U.S. Capitol and the inauguration of President [Joe Biden](#), QAnon followers have since increasingly merged their beliefs with other conspiracy theories, including the unfounded claim that Biden somehow stole the 2020 Presidential Election from Trump.

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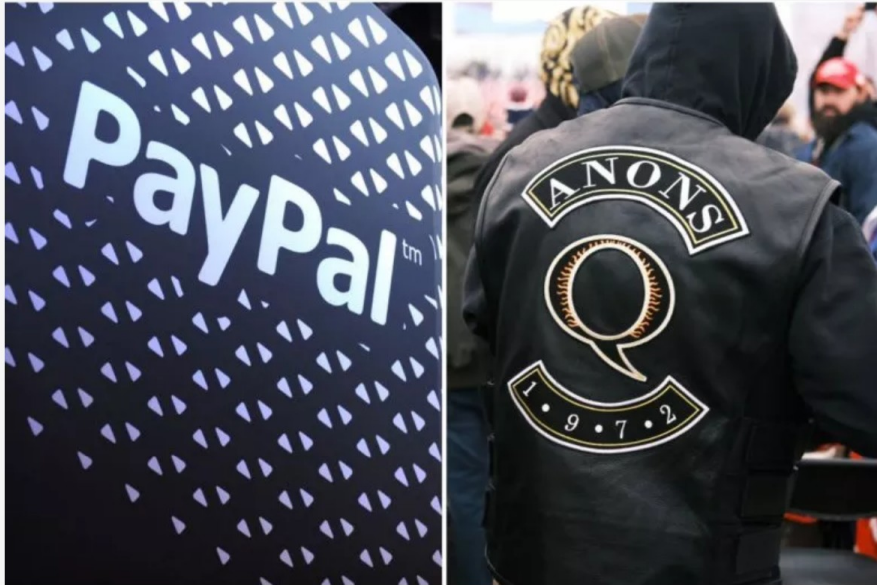
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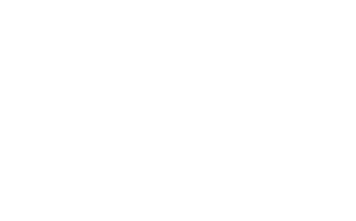
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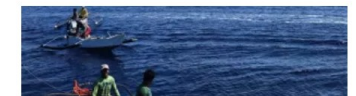
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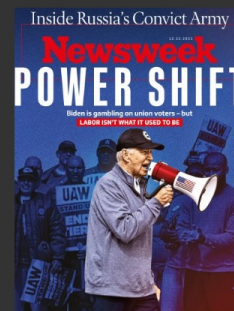
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